

Abstract

Comparative Literature in the Spirit of Bandung: Script Change, Language Choice, and Ideology in African and Asian Literatures (Senegal & Indonesia)

Annette Damayanti Lienau

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My dissertation compares the politics and poetics of language choice in the literary histories of Senegal and Indonesia as national case studies from Africa and Asia. It examines key historical moments through which the contours of literary nationalism were posited and challenged by ideologically informed, transnational literary movements (pan-Islamism and Communism). The positions of Senegal and Indonesia at the extremes of a trans-continental literary realm with an Arabic textual tradition, and the marginalization of Arabic for transcription during the colonial period, offers a primary basis for comparison between the two national contexts.

The first portion of the dissertation on Senegalese literature is subdivided into three chapters, with each devoted to an author whose work represents a distinct linguistic, literary orientation in Senegal: Amadu Bamba (the Arabic language poet and founder of Senegal's most widespread Sufi Order, Muridism), Léopold Sédar Senghor (the Francophone poet and Senegal's first president and linguistic policymaker after independence), and Ousmane Sembene (the author and filmmaker whose oppositional language politics drew him to vernacular language film-making, primarily in Wolof, and to the founding of the first vernacular language journal in Senegal). By complementing my analysis on the politics and poetics of linguistic choice in the works of Amadu Bamba (in Arabic) and Senghor (in French) with an interpretation of Ousmane Sembene's work, I develop an initial method of reading that considers how the traces of foregone

linguistic alternatives are nonetheless sustained in individual texts and in the fissures of Senegalese literary history. If my reading of Bamba analyzes his poetry in the context of the French colonial displacement and manipulation of Arabic within the public sphere at the turn of the twentieth century, and if my reading of Senghor's work (written in the wake of this displacement) considers Senghor's reconfiguration of French as a linguistic choice rather than a systemic imposition, Sembene's fictional re-narrations of Senegalese history present a foreshortened reading of these linguistic vicissitudes, while offering a counter-prescription (Wolof) embedded in the bilingual patterns of his written work. This "palimpsestic" interpretation of Sembene's work, in other words, not only considers its synchronic value, by examining how the linguistic texture of his work depends on bilingual narrative patterns, it also considers its diachronic value, by assessing the text itself as a historical event.

Focused on Indonesian literature, the second half of the dissertation employs the interpretive methods developed in the introductory chapters, while offering comparative readings of Senegalese and Indonesian authors on the displacement of Arabic as a literary language (and a mode of transcription), the coupling of language choice and ideology, and the representation of linguistic competition in the revisionist historical fiction of leftist authors and filmmakers. The Indonesian case study is also divided into chapters devoted to representative figures of Indonesian proto-nationalist poetry (Chairil Anwar), leftist literature and film (Pramoedya Ananta Toer and Sjuman Djaya), and Indonesian authors of pan-Islamist, religious persuasion (Hamka).

At the other extreme of an Arabic-language cosmopolis, my Indonesian case study begins by examining the legacy of colonial, Arabic script displacement in both the literary and political spheres, traced through the writings of the trilingual author and chairman of Indonesia's first

Islamic clerical council, Hamka (a prominent arbiter on Indonesian language politics in the “New Order”). This inaugural chapter on Indonesian literature, like my preceding work on Senegal, highlights the centrality of romanization and Arabic script displacement in the formation of a “nationalized” language, and considers its implications for the development of local literature and the projections of literary “modernity.” The subsequent chapter of my Indonesian case study, on comparative experiments in leftist literature, examines the work of Pramoedya Ananta Toer (an ardent defender of socialist realism in Indonesia) and Sjumanjaya (who, like Sembene, was trained in cinematography in Moscow). In this chapter, I focus not only on the common ideological influences that inform their work, but also on the portrayal of linguistic choice in their revisionist historical fiction, their depiction of Arabic as a linguistic alternative to Malay or Wolof, and their common dignification of vernacular print culture.

To conclude the joint analysis of two case studies on Senegal and Indonesia, the final chapter of the dissertation returns to a comparative examination of poetic form and poetry’s reception. Beginning with a comparative reading of Senghor and the Indonesian poet Chairil Anwar (whose poetry has become synonymous with the Indonesian Revolution), the chapter explores the relationship between poetry and sacralized language, and the predicament of poetry’s relative monoglossia for the bilingual poet who chooses between competing languages and scripts.

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(Senegal & Indonesia)

Annette Damayanti Lienau

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Annette Damayanti Lienau

Dissertation Director: Christopher L. Miller

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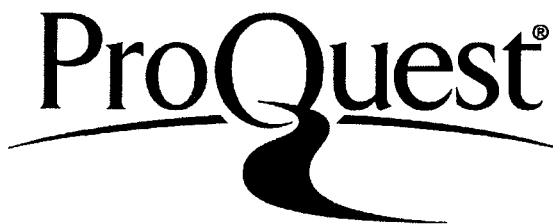
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I entitled this project "in the spirit of Bandung," in reference to the first reunion of newly independent African and Asian states, in part to honor my Indonesian mother and her Indonesian family. As a project that also seeks an inverse take on the ideological currents against which an American Empire has come to be defined, it is also, however, written with an American audience in mind. It is in this spirit that I wish to dedicate these pursuits, for all my faults and shortcomings, to my Indonesian mother, my American father, and the history we share.

Table of Contents

Introduction.....	5
-------------------	---

Senegal

Chapter I. A region with two masters: *Khadim al-Rasul* and the contest of acrolects

Introduction.....	6
Script Rupture and the Textually Orphaned Vernacular.....	15
Script as an emblem of difference: agonism in the Colonial Archives	22
Language Mastery and Racial Transcendence in Bamba's Poetry.....	30
Conclusion.....	41

Chapter II. *Consecrating French: re-reading Senghor's Négritude through the crisis of transcription*

Introduction.....	44
Senghor and Arabic: The negative contours of a marginalized textual tradition.....	47
The poetics of linguistic coercion: French as a language of force & liberty.....	50
The inauguration of <i>négritude</i> as the reinvention of caste.....	60
The limits of the universal: the decline of <i>Francophonie</i> & the rise of Wolof	66
Language choice and "Deteriorating Terms of Exchange".....	71
Conclusion.....	78

Chapter III. *Transcribing vernaculars, abandoning transcription: Sembene's language politics and the problem of genre*

Introduction.....	80
The "Demythification" of language: Sembene, Senghor, and <i>Le Dernier de L'Empire</i>	84
The Guewel in Cinematography: <i>Ceddo & Emitai</i>	94
Monumental speech as a translation of force: contrasting Sembene and Senghor.....	99
The Basilect as a utopian frame.....	102
<i>Kaddu</i> and the Democratization of language	108
Conclusion: Wolof as "historical accident" & Malay as a counterfactual.....	108

Indonesia

Chapter IV. *"Above language and nation": sacralized script and the contested origins of regional Malay*

Introduction.....	111
Colonial philology & Script Change in the Dutch East Indies.....	113
From pan-Islamism to Nationalism:	
Hamka's changing politics, sacred language, and the novel's heteroglossia.....	121
The post-colonial reassertion of Arabic:	
the transnational "unity of script above language and nation".....	141
Conclusion.....	150

Chapter V. The leftist intellectual as a "Casteless Brahmin": *Pramoedya Ananta Toer, socialist-realism, and the mythic-utopianism of language beyond caste*

Introduction.....	154
Pramoedya's Double Informants: "Socialist-Realism" and the Indonesian Legacy of Arok Dedes	
The positive hero: Pram's epic adaptation as a socialist-realist work.....	157
Literary self-consciousness in <i>Arok Dedes</i> : Against the "generation of official myth"	166
On linguistic utopianism and the socialist-realist novel's "modal schizophrenia"	170
On the foundational history of Islam in leftist historical fiction & film.....	178
<i>Arus Balik: The Current Reverses</i>	178
<i>Wali Songo: The Nine Saints</i>	187
Sjuman Djaya after the decimation of the left:	
historicism, vernacularism, and cinematic continuities in Indonesia's "New Order".....	190
Social harmony as social tragedy: reading Pram's <i>Kartini</i> in Sjuman's biopic.....	197
Conclusion.....	206

Chapter VI. From monoglossia to unisonance: *Language choice, "the tension between memory and forgetting," and the nationalization of Chairil Anwar's poetry in comparative perspective*

Introduction.....	208
Choosing one's dead: Chairil Anwar and Léopold Sédar Senghor's Inaugural Elegies.....	213
On myth taken for history: Poetic unisonance and the invention of Chairil's "plausible contexts".....	226
Chairil as a New Order "National Figure" [<i>"Tokoh Nasional"</i>]	228
Conclusion.....	240

Dissertation Conclusion:	
On Sacralized language, oppositional spiritualism, and the nation's imagining.....	243

Works Cited.....	254
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Introduction

This dissertation takes its cue from one of the earliest conceptions of the postcolonial as a common political and cultural project in the Asian-African context: the first Asia-Africa conference of Bandung in 1955, whose participants declared the primacy of cultural exchange between the continents' newly independent countries, and whose final communiqué declared that the experience of colonialism on both continents hindered this vital practice. In the words of the hosting Indonesian President Sukarno, addressing conference participants:

Let us remember that the highest purpose of man is the liberation of man from his bonds of fear, his bonds of poverty, the liberation of man from the physical, spiritual and intellectual bonds which have for long stunted the development of humanity's majority. And let us remember, Sisters and Brothers, that for the sake of all that, we Asians and Africans must be united.¹

It is perhaps then ironic, if unsurprising, that this sense of "unity" and the practice of cultural exchange between formerly colonized nations in the literary realm first assumed the channels of least resistance, were largely confined to regions or nations of a common colonizer or to independent states sharing the language of a former imperial power. The repercussions of this now ossifying convention extends to current practices in the American academy, as the comparative study of post-independence literatures of Asia and Africa are often bound to the national literature departments of former colonizers, under broader designations of Francophonie and Commonwealth Literature, to highlight the most common examples. As Dipesh Chakrabarty has observed of the legacies of the Bandung conference, a disjuncture between anti-colonial nationalisms as they were historically expressed in 1955 and post-colonial theory as it has come to be practiced continues to be evident within cultural studies.² Gayatri Spivak and others have observed the monoglossia that generally attends the practice of theory and literary comparatism³—a tendency through which, I suggest, the local contours of cultural rupture

subtending these anti-colonial nationalisms lose their force.

Informed by these conclusions, my project explores the extent to which the common condition of diglossia or bilingualism for writers across both continents—and the dilemmas this presents—might offer the basis for comparative methods of reading that break with the lines of “old imperialisms.”^{iv} The dissertation focuses on the problem of language choice, and the value of a linguistic choice foregone, by considering their comparative traces in literary texts and in the fissures of literary history. The methods pursued in my dissertation were heavily inspired by the Kenyan author Ngũgĩ wa Thiong’o’s now classic work *Decolonizing the mind*, on the centrality of language choice for breaking colonial structures of recognition.

My project explores a comparatism beyond, to borrow Jahan Ramazani’s phrase, “opposite sides of the colonial divide” otherwise privileged by the reading of African and Asian literatures within a single, former colonial language. To this end, I experiment with two complementary forms of comparatist reading. I examine literatures written in different languages—Arabic, French, and Wolof— within a common national context (Senegal), to re-interpret the nation’s literary history through regional changes in script use (from Arabic to Latin script) and the subsequent crisis of vernacular language transcription. By adding to this comparison a second national context beyond the bounds of a former colonial power (Indonesia), I expand my scale of reading to underscore the relationship between language choice and ideology in ways that tend less exclusively to lines of difference drawn by a colonial power.

The position of Senegal and Indonesia at the extremes of an Arabic-language cosmopolis (to use Ronit Ricci’s term),^v where the Arabic script has been present since the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries respectively, offers a first order of comparison between these two national, literary histories. By comparatively examining the linguistic politics and poetic choices made by

Indonesian authors, I draw attention to the broader, transnational implications of the following historical trends in both Senegal and Indonesia: the regional displacement of sacralized script (with the advent of print-colonialism), the leftist dignification of vernacular print as an expression of popular nationalism, and the contributions of both movements to the nationalization of language and the performance of literary modernity.

The first half of the dissertation, on Senegalese literature, is subdivided into three chapters, with each devoted to an author whose work represents a distinct linguistic, literary orientation in Senegal: Amadu Bamba (the Arabic language poet and founder of Senegal's most widespread Sufi Order, Muridism), Léopold Sédar Senghor (the Francophone poet and Senegal's first president), and Ousmane Sembene (the author and filmmaker whose oppositional language politics drew him to vernacular film-making, primarily in Wolof, and to the founding of the first vernacular language journal in Senegal). By complementing my analysis on the social poetics of language choice in the works of Amadu Bamba (in Arabic) and Senghor (in French) with an interpretation of Ousmane Sembene's work, I develop an initial method of reading that considers how the traces of foregone linguistic alternatives are nonetheless sustained in individual texts and in the fissures of Senegalese literary history.

My first chapter presents two inverse perspectives that contextualize the following historical trajectory: the public displacement of the Arabic language during the subjection of Senegal to colonial French control, when Arabic moved from public prominence in much of the region as a *de facto* official, transactional language and script to its present status as a primarily private, devotional language. The chapter culminates with a study of the Arabic Sufi poetry of Amadu Bamba, the founder of Senegal's now most influential and widespread religious order, the *Muridiyya*, locally upheld by devotees as an anti-colonial hero and martyr. Twice sent into

exile by the French around the turn of the twentieth century, Bamba poetically reinterprets his exile as a benediction, as a means through which, in his isolation, he masters the Arabic language as a truth language and a unique medium of access to the divine. At a time when the French were re-drawing the boundaries of West Africa on the basis of racial divisions between Mauritania and Senegal, Bamba, as evinced by self-reflexive elements in his poetry, incorporates himself within a correligious, Arabic language community that transcends the racialized political divisions being drawn. By interpreting trends in French colonial language policy alongside Bamba's writing, I trace the process through which the public contest between Arabic and French appears to have been followed by an ultimate symbiosis—a symbiosis that ultimately rendered both languages discrete, coexistent acrolects (or prestige languages) in Senegal.

In keeping with the dissertation's overall concern with the social poetics of language choice, my interpretation of Bamba's Arabic poetry extends to a comparative or palimpsestic analysis of the French poetry of Senegal's first president and most renowned poet: Léopold Sédar Senghor, canonized for defending his poetic choice of the French language with the development of a racialized poetics (*négritude*, conventionally interpreted as the racialized translation of an indigenous African poetics into French).^{vi} In my second chapter, I argue that the work of both Bamba and Senghor share significant commonalities across their linguistic differences. By comparatively examining the self-reflexive aspects of Senghor's poetry, I suggest that both poets, writing under conditions of colonial prejudice, inscribe in their poetry the transcendence of prejudice—a prejudice of both colonial and continental origins. In both cases, the poet's linguistic mastery of a foreign language is projected as a sign of egalitarianism, as his chosen language becomes a vessel of transcendence beyond racial alterity, towards a sense of the universal, whether secular or divine. Their poetry can therefore be comparatively interpreted as

divergent responses to political disempowerment, through which a poet's linguistic choice can be read as redefining the nature of freedom itself. I further argue for the re-interpretation of conventional understandings of Senghor's *négritude* as solely a function of his writing in *French*. In re-reading his poems, I suggest that his choice of the French language not only tempers racial hierarchies across the African-European divide, but also redefines the caste divisions that subtend traditional oratory, according to which bardic speech signifies the poet's subordination to the noble caste he praises (the *guelwaar*). The chapter concludes by considering Senghor's increasing use of Wolof in public address as a bridge to the third chapter of the dissertation, on the pioneering filmmaker and vernacular print-activist Ousmane Sembene, whose language politics stood in self-conscious opposition to Senghor's.

If my reading of Bamba analyzes his poetry in the context of the French colonial displacement and manipulation of Arabic within the public sphere at the turn of the twentieth century, and if my reading of Senghor's work (written in the wake of this displacement) considers Senghor's reconfiguration of French as a linguistic choice rather than a systemic imposition, Sembene's fictional re-narrations of Senegalese history present a foreshortened reading of these linguistic vicissitudes, while offering a counter-prescription (Wolof) embedded in the bilingual patterns of his written work. This "palimpsestic" interpretation of Sembene's work, in other words, not only considers its synchronic value, by examining how the linguistic texture of his work depends on bilingual narrative patterns, it also considers its diachronic value, by assessing the text itself as a historical event. My case study on Senegalese literature also revisits Sembene's works (*Xala* and *Mandabi*) whose interpretation by Frederic Jameson launched a foundational debate on the basis of comparatively reading "third world literatures" as national allegories. By returning to the texts at the origins of the critical debate, I qualify

Jameson's conclusions and suggest an alternative method for the comparative reading of such literatures that is neither limited to the “national” as a unit of analysis, nor dependent on “allegory” as a formal vehicle for interpreting the correlation between literary and political trends.

Focused on Indonesian literature, the second half of the dissertation employs the interpretive methods developed in the introductory chapters on Senegal, to examine the relationship between language choice and ideology in comparative perspective. The second half of the dissertation on Indonesia also considers how the traces of foregone linguistic alternatives are nonetheless sustained in individual texts and in the fissures of Indonesia’s national literary history. My examination of Indonesian literature and literary history is also sub-divided into three chapters devoted to prominent literary figures whose literary legacy and ideological sympathies strongly compare to Bamba, Senghor, and Sembene in Senegal.

Like the first chapter on the Senegalese Sufi poet Amadu Bamba, the fourth chapter of the dissertation highlights the centrality of script change (from Arabic to Latin) and sacralized language to literary experiments in Indonesia. The primary subject of this chapter, the trilingual, Sumatranese authour and Islamic cleric Hamka, occupies an exceptional position as an Indonesian writer who largely abandoned the Arabic script for popular publishing (in the 1930s), but continued to inscribe in his work an enduring identification with a pan-Islamic, pan-Malay community, symbolized by the Arabic script and its sacralized language. The structure of the chapter mirrors that of the first chapter on Senegal. It begins by tracing the politicization of the Arabic script as an emblem of difference in the colonial archives of the Dutch East Indies. The chapter then proceeds through an analysis of both Hamka’s literary writing and print-journalism: his shift from publishing in Arabic script to Latin script, his changing translational orientation

(from a trans-oceanic focus on Egypt and the Hijaz, to a proto-national, Indonesian context), and his evolving political loyalties, from an ardent pan-Islamism (in 1936-7) to a greater promotion of Indonesian nationalism (in 1938-9). The chapter concludes by examining Hamka's conservative return to a pan-Islamic, pan-Malay (*jawi*) transnationalism, evident in his writing on language politics and Arabic script use after Indonesian independence.

If Hamka had once translated Arabian Epics and Arabic language novels into Malay and asserted the Arabic script origins of nationalized Malay, the leftist, Javanese novelist Pramoedya Ananta Toer presents the antithesis of Hamka's cultural politics, asserting the foreignness of the Arabic language, and the centrality of Indonesia's polyglossia and romanized print-journalism to its national foundations. Pramoedya additionally brings to his Indonesian-Malay a different vernacular orientation as a native speaker of the Javanese language (as are the majority of Indonesians). It is an orientation in part evinced through his translation and adaptation of the Javanese Indic Epic into Malay, a subject I treat in the dissertation's fifth chapter. I examine how Pramoedya's adaptation re-reads a Javanese manuscript tradition through the Malay novel, while drawing from transnational patterns of socialist-realist prose (in the model of the Soviet, socialist-realist novel). The chapter as a whole considers the extent to which the concerns exhibited in the leftist literature of Sembene in Senegal—the dignification of a vernacular idiom and the historical contingency of local acrolects—are equally present in the Indonesian case, by examining the problem of language ideology in the historical novels of Pramoedya Ananta Toer. By also focusing on the historical films of the leftist Indonesian filmmaker Sjumana Djaya (who, like Sembene, spent the early 1960s studying cinematography in the Soviet Union), the chapter concludes by considering how common concerns with historicism, language ideology, and a vernacular idiom might offer a continuity for leftist cultural production beyond the political

decimation of the Indonesian left after 1965 (when a brutal Civil War resulted in the widespread massacre and imprisonment of those affiliated with the nation's radical left, including Pramoedya).

To conclude the joint analysis of two case studies on Senegal and Indonesia, the final chapter of the dissertation returns to a comparative examination of poetic form and poetry's reception, in order to explore the relationship between poetry and sacralized language, between poetry's relative monoglossia (to gesture to Bakhtin) and the bilingual poet who chooses between competing languages and scripts. Beginning with a comparative reading of Senghor and the Indonesian poet Chairil Anwar, whose work has become synonymous with the Indonesian Revolution, the chapter additionally examines the relationship between language choice, script displacement and the invention of a "modern," "national" poetic canon (as the function of a locally bound, linguistically relational dynamic).

According to a speech written by Senghor during his presidency, now housed in the archives of Dakar, "*batik*" was a method of dying fabric brought from insular Southeast Asia to West Africa by the Dutch in the seventeenth century. In Senegal, the textile borne of this process has come to be called "*wax*." It is auspicious that the process is now indigenous to both Indonesia and Senegal, for it offers a convenient analogy for the common literary and historical dynamic that I seek to describe in my dissertation. *Batik tulis* (in Indonesian) is the process through which an artist inscribes ["*tulis*," literally "writes"] a figure upon a white cloth with wax, before the cloth is cast with dye. The encaustic then removed leaves behind a negative contour, a white space where the wax was written. The process repeated leaves a palimpsest behind. There is something analogous to this observed in the following pages. Though a script is removed, its traces remain; though a text is subject to the tides of history, the configurations of an artist betray

his or her own agency. The conclusion of this dissertation serves as a final meditation on this palimpsest of script rupture and colonial subjection, vernacularization and sacralized language, inspired by and responding to the influential ideas of Benedict Anderson and Partha Chatterjee on print-nationalism, oppositional spiritualism, and the problem of linguistic agency. All of this to suggest that, with the enduring presence of a displaced script, amidst the successive vicissitudes of language, an artist's choice of inscription still reconfigures space.

A region with two masters:

The servant of the Prophet and the contest of acrolects

Introduction

This chapter presents two inverse perspectives that contextualize the following historical trajectory: the public displacement of the Arabic language during the subjection of Senegal to colonial French control, when Arabic moved from public prominence in much of the region as a *de facto* official, transactional language and script to its present status as a primarily private, devotional language.^{vii} On the one hand, this process advanced through deliberate efforts by the French administration in the A.O.F. (*l'Afrique Occidentale Française*, the colonial Federation of “French West Africa”) to replace the public use of Arabic with an ascendant *French* (leaving in the wake of this displacement the ongoing predicament of how local languages might be conventionally or officially transcribed-- a challenge assumed by both of the Senegalese francophone authors examined in the following chapters). From an inverse perspective, I consider how the regional transformation of Arabic into a primarily private, devotional language (in tandem with institutional French efforts to displace it as an official medium) corresponded to the re-consecration of Arabic as a private, esoteric language of divine access by one of Senegal's most prominent Muslim leaders and poets in exile; as such, French efforts to displace an autonomous or allegedly hostile Islamic leadership, and to displace the Arabic language as a potential conduit of their influence, coincided with the Sufi poet's re-interpretation of his exile less as a marginalization from the public realm than as a voluntary removal therefrom, an interpretation upheld through the poet's depiction of his use of the Arabic language as a sign of autonomy and devotion to a higher authority.^{viii}

To present the former perspective, I trace the signs of this displacement in the colonial

archives, by considering how key policymakers in the French colonial administration perceived the front-lines of linguistic competition in the region, and tactically mapped the exclusion of Arabic from public use. I do this not only as a corrective measure, to highlight an understudied byproduct and partial catalyst of the historical expansion of the French language in Senegal, but also in order to preface a second perspective on this marginalization: to characterize the prevailing atmosphere of antagonism within the administration that resulted in the exile of one of Senegal's most historically influential clerics and Sufi poets, Amadu Bamba, the founder of Senegal's presently most widespread Sufi order, Muridism.

After devoting the first portion of this chapter to the traces of linguistic competition in the French colonial archives around the turn of the century (1895-1914), I present (what I call) a palimpsestic reading of Bamba's poetry, focusing on the self-reflexive presentation of the Arabic language in his work (also generally dating from this period). From the cleric's perspective, Bamba's exile was experienced less as a marginalization from the wielding of public influence than as a voluntary resignation from its exercise, as reflected by his depiction of his own linguistic command. The poet's language of composition is portrayed as a form of devotion to a higher power, and reinterpreted as a sign of his autonomy and sanctuary from the baser concerns of the political sphere: his language of composition is thereby presented (and consecrated) as a means through which the terms of colonial exclusion and situational entrapment are reconfigured and transformed into a pretext of liberty and self-emancipation. (These aspects of Bamba's poetry, the relationship between language, sacrifice, and consecration, the deference to a higher power in response to systemic forms of coercion, is one I revisit for a comparative reading with Senghor's francophone poetry in the following chapter.)

This palimpsestic, double reading of the colonial archives and Bamba's poetry

exemplifies how the Arabic language was not merely institutionally “marginalized” by the French colonial apparatus, but was also poetically upheld by one of its most influential writers in Senegal as a private, devotional language (as a sign of the poet's autonomy in the midst of institutional coercion). To read the traces of linguistic competition in French colonial archives alongside Bamba's poetry on linguistic choice, one might conclude that early French perceptions of an ideological contest for public influence concluded with a certain equilibrium: the linguistic analogue of accommodation between the French colonial administration and one of Senegal's most influential and popular Muslim clerics culminated in a symbiosis between French control of public office in Senegal, with French as its linguistic armature, and with the cleric's conviction that his ambitions and influence involved a higher realm of private devotion-- a realm in which the esoteric mastery of the Arabic language assumed a paramount form of symbolic capital. My thesis is that this double perspective partially demonstrates how the French and Arabic languages, initially perceived by French colonial agents as linguistic or ideological rivals, eventually assumed a symbiotic coexistence as discrete acrolects in Senegal.

The following reading, then, suggests that an ultimate political and linguistic division between the secular and religious spheres in Senegal for (a growing Muslim majority) did not simply result from the disinterested importation of French Republicanism to the region; it was rather a tactical means of controlling and marginalizing potential opposition from an extant religious leadership. In the course of tracing this process, the historical connection to the Indonesian Muslim experience of Dutch colonialism cannot be ignored. Although a cause has yet to be established (through further archival research), a correlation clearly exists between the banning of Arabic in official use by the French administration in the AOF (May 1911) and Dutch policy recommendations based on developments in the Indonesian archipelago, as the French

ban occurred directly after the publication, translation, and widespread circulation of the Dutch Islamicist and colonial advisor on Islamic policy Snouck Hurgronje's January 1911 article *La conquête de l'Islam* (originally published in Dutch, and later translated and published in the *Revue du Monde Musulman*, operated by the French ministry of the colonies).^{ix} (This connection will be further examined in the dissertation's second case study (chapters 4-6) on Indonesia.)

The conflation of secularism with progress as a component of the French “civilizing mission” in the AOF^x can be retrospectively considered a shared, historical precondition of Bamba and Senghor's writing, one which they responded to in their work within different linguistic and religious traditions. In this respect, the work of both poets can be considered an attempted recovery, a literary response to losses imposed by divisions erected in service to the colonial project. Senghor's emphasis on African spiritualism in his writing, his designation of *négritude* (the alleged sum of black cultural values) as the complement to a European tradition of rationalism, might for example be seen to fall into this pattern, just as Bamba inscribes in his poetry a divine epistemology to compensate for his exclusion or isolation in exile. For the broader purposes of the dissertation, on the ideological implications of linguistic choice, it is interesting to note that both poets mediate this recovery through self-reflexive aspects of their poetry, through which their chosen languages of composition (French for Senghor, Arabic for Bamba-- neither of them the poet's mother tongue) are presented as bearing an intrinsic value, as an inherently valuable means of mediating (or, in Senghor's case, translating) a sense of spiritual transcendence, a sanctuary from systemic forms of coercion and political marginalization. It is on these grounds that I extend my case study on Senegal in my third chapter, for I consider how Sembene (of a slightly later generation) recurrently questions the notion that language can bear an intrinsic value, and advocates the decoupling of language and ideology, or the

“demythification” and “democratization” of linguistic choice in his work.

It should also be mentioned that this political and linguistic division between the secular and religious domains in the AOF has affected, perhaps determined, subsequent field divisions for scientific interest and academic research; as a result, much current academic writing and comparative work on these authors depends on the the notion, perhaps the prejudice, that what is written for devotional or religious purposes is incomparable to writing produced out of “secular” interests or for a general public. On a secondary level, my method of reading Senghor alongside Bamba, and my reading of literary and political history alongside the text, sets aside these divisions in part to consider why they exist in the first place-- to examine how they have come to prevail to the point of orthodoxy (more often leaving that which has been written for “private,” devotional interest beyond the purview of a broader readership and to the detriment of a more complete narration of literary history).

Script Displacement and the Perception of Textually Orphaned Vernaculars

Although vernacular language writing is not my present focus, for the purposes of foregrounding the concerns of the following chapters, I hypothesize that the fate of the Arabic language during the colonial period, or more precisely the public marginalization of the Arabic language and its script by the French colonial apparatus, is deeply intertwined with the fate of local language literatures, their transcription, and their textual transmission (or lack thereof). A logical deduction from this reading suggests: to the extent that the textual transmission of vernacular language literatures (written in the Arabic script prior to the colonial encounter) depended on an at least elementary familiarity with the Arabic language among readers and writers, French efforts to publicly delimit and displace Arabic language literacy had an adverse, potentially decimating effect on the continuity of this tradition.^{xi} Although this historical

connection is currently understudied and unfortunately not my present objective, my later analysis of subsequent generations of francophone authors (preoccupied with recovering the literary legacy of the vernacular languages from which they were textually estranged, and facing the urgent need to experimentally transcribe vernaculars in the roman alphabet) suggests the extent to which the textually orphaned language, a local language displaced from its conventional script, may have been an indirect and historically aberrant byproduct of aggressive colonial language policies in French West Africa. This condition of language use may have in part influenced the extreme, at times oppositional emphasis on the oral tradition as a recuperative medium for subsequent generations of francophone authors (as the oral tradition, when linguistic access to its transcribed alternatives was displaced, was all that remained in high visibility for the literate writer after the institutional expansion of *French* and its roman alphabet). This deduction also suggests the following possibility: given that efforts to conventionally transcribe and officially codify native languages in the roman alphabet did not begin until 1968 and in some cases continue unresolved,^{xii} for generations of francophone authors in the twentieth century, linguistic policies established in the name of French literacy (and for the purposes of delimiting Arabic language use as a politically radicalizing force) were in part *creating or promoting textual illiteracy* where native language use was concerned. (For comparative purposes, the romanization of local languages in Indonesia, also previously written in Arabic script, and the comparative process of their literary transference from the Arabic script to the Latin script (particularly with Malay) will also be considered in the second case study of the dissertation (chapters 4-6).)

This hypothesis should nonetheless be read in light of the following qualification. Given that illiteracy was undeniably a widespread problem in French West Africa, the notion of a

“textually orphaned language” and the *creation* or promotion of native language illiteracy largely applies to a circumscribed demographic of interpreters, writers, and autodidacts who, had they not been trained in French by the necessities or the initiatives of the colonial apparatus, might have instead been trained exclusively or more extensively in Arabic and in Ajami (native languages transcribed in Arabic). This is an institutional aphasia which I later attempt to trace in my reading of Senghor and in Sembene's work on literacy. It is in this light that I re-read Senghor's poetics and linguistic politics as a response to historically aberrant conditions of language use and language competition in French West Africa, with *négritude* offering a historical corrective for the perceived *tabula rasa* of an extant textual tradition. It is also in this light that I re-read diglossic patterns in Sembene's work, his increasing emphasis on the cinematic medium (as an analogue to native language illiteracy), and his linguistic activism (on romanized, native language transcription and literacy initiatives). For this particular demographic, the disjuncture between the vernacular experience of a native language and the inaccessibility of (or distance to) traditions of textual transcription was a decisive condition of their writing.

Another qualification should also be made regarding the colonial circumscription of Arabic as a public/official language. A discontinuity in native language literacy does not appear to apply to those who (as adherents to private or autonomous, religious communities such as the Murid order) continued to be sufficiently well versed in the Arabic script to create and transcribe native language literatures without interruption. It is in this light that the following disparity can be seen: where francophone authors grappled with their choice of the French language, sought alternative (for example, cinematic) media to resolve their perception of a textually orphaned language, and experimented with the transcription of native languages in the Roman alphabet,^{xiii}

authors versed in the Arabic language (though less publicly visible, less frequently published and circulated) continued writing native language literatures in Arabic script uninterrupted. In this regard, for example, whereas the francophone Senghor and Sembene (among others) generally eschewed writing in their native Sereer and Wolof, and developed an alternative poetics of *négritude*/francophonie (Senghor) and an oral poetics of the cinematic medium (Sembene) to resolve the transcription and literacy problem, the Murid community and its autonomous pedagogical apparatus (established by Bamba, who himself included lines of Wolof in certain poems) produced two of Senegal's most prolific poets of Wolof in the twentieth century, including Sëriñ Muusaa Ka (a near-contemporary of Senghor) and Sëriñ Mbaye Jakhate, whose work has since become widely known and sung (effectively disseminated among an illiterate audience in Senegal). Arame Fal in her brief overview of Wolof literature in Arabic script, writes that religious and devotional themes are not the sole preoccupation of these poets writing in Wolof 'ajami (Arabic script), and suggests that it is only through recent initiatives in the last decades of the twentieth century that the gap between francophone speakers of Wolof and Wolof writers in Arabic script has attempted to be bridged, with for example the transcription (into Roman script) of Ka's poetry, and with the circulation of audial recordings of his poetry.^{xiv} Given these complex correspondences, before exploring a francophone alternative to Bamba's poetry in chapter two, I conclude this chapter by considering how Bamba's poetry in Arabic, his upholding of the Arabic language as a private, devotional acrolect, and his initiatives in Arabic language pedagogy, sheltered and launched a generation of poets writing in their native languages in Arabic script at a time when francophone authors, estranged from the textual transmission of their native languages and initially challenged by the transcription problem, sought refuge in an alternative poetics of cultural translation.

Script as an emblem of difference: agonism in the Colonial Archives

Although the French, following the Portuguese and the Dutch, maintained a mercantile presence^{xv} on the West African coast since the early seventeenth century, incursions into the interior of present day Senegal began in the 1830s and proceeded over the course of a century. Catalyzed by trade wars over Acacia gum, a period of intensified military expansion in the 1830s was followed by the establishment of a military government at the mouth of the Senegal river and by the appointment in 1854 of the French Naval engineer Louis Faidherbe as colonial governor and primary architect of early colonial policy. From its incipency (according to the as yet unparalleled survey of colonial archives published by Christopher Harrison), the French colonial administration considered Islam the most formidable, ideological threat to the expansion of French authority in sub-Saharan West Africa (a perception informed by earlier campaigns and encounters with Muslim clerics in North-West Africa). An early speech by Governor Faidherbe (1860) reveals the extent to which French expansion in West Africa was publicly presented as a countervailing force to Islam, conceived as a rival extraterritorial influence in the region:

Habitants du Sénégal, pour la plupart vous avez reçu de vos pères la religion des arabes; mais la question de croyance réservée, vous n'êtes nullement obligés d'imiter les arabes dans leurs mœurs, dans leur ignorance, dans leurs vices, dans leur malpropreté, dans leurs idées arriérées, dans leurs travers... Ce n'est donc pas chez eux que vous devez aller chercher vos exemples [...].^{xvi}

Residents of Senegal, for the most part you have received from your fathers the religion of the Arabs; but, the question of belief aside, you are by no means obliged to imitate the Arabs in their morals, in their ignorance, in their vices, in their filthiness, in their regressive ideas, in their deformities... It is not to them that you must go to seek your examples [...].^{xvii}

This prescribed dissociation of Islam from its regional origins, from its cultural heritage, indicates the eventual direction of French cultural policy with regard to Senegal's overwhelmingly (and increasingly) Muslim demographic, favoring colonial French models of institutional authority, and culminating in the local projection of a "Muslim civilization which

expresses itself in French.”^{xviii} Continuing this tradition towards the turn of the century, Robert Arnaud, first head of the Bureau of Muslim Affairs established by Governor Roume in 1906, declared in a similar vein that “Islam should never be anything other than religious belief [and] must not evolve in the sense of Turko-Egyptian nationalism nor in the political traditions of Muslim states, but in the sense of French Ideas.”^{xix} As the preceding citations prefigure, these rival influences, portrayed by Faidherbe as rival imperialisms, found their analogue in the agonistic language politics of the public sphere, with significant consequences for the linguistic development of a local, public literary canon and its regional audience. If early French colonial policy towards Islam in West Africa was marked by ambivalence and inconsistency, due not only to poor initial intelligence gathering from Arabic language sources, but also to the paradoxical task of converting what seemed an “insuperable” source of opposition into an invaluable “instrument of conquest,”^{xx} a general trend can nonetheless be discerned with regard to colonial language policy, whereby the Arabic language in sub-Saharan West Africa came to be considered a potentially radicalizing force, and increasingly conflated with politicized Islam (and later with Islamic nationalism imported from the Middle East). Although Arabic remained a primary language of transaction and transcription^{xxi} between French administrators and local rulers until the early twentieth century (as late as 1906, the Roume administration considered the training of local interpreters in Arabic a paramount asset for its administration), the colonial administration nonetheless increasingly considered as part of their mission the infiltration and displacement of the Arabic language and the Arabic script in public use, citing the necessity to maintain linguistic barriers to “separate “our West African Islam” from alternative centers of religious power in the Middle East (over which the French had no direct control).^{xxii}

Although French military expansion in sub-Saharan West Africa and Mauritania

continued into the 1930s (with Senegal “pacified” by the 1890s), the increasing cost to France of military conquests in the region (particularly in the wake of reconstruction after the Franco-Prussian war and the Paris Commune (1870-71) resulted in a shift in emphasis in the late nineteenth century away from overt military campaigns towards alternative modes of coercion and control.^{xxiii} In 1895, the seat of French colonial power was transferred from a military to civilian administration, and a regional Federation of French West Africa (*L’Afrique Occidentale Française*, the A.O.F)^{xxiv} was established to consolidate the economic potential of the colonies under a program of “rational economic development” (Conklin’s translation of the original *mise en valeur*). The push towards regional, economic consolidation under the federal system (and the push towards control by other means) corresponded with tentatives towards linguistic integration, with the French language acting as both a regional unifying force, and as the vehicle of a revived colonial ideology, the “civilizing mission” (*mission civilisatrice*). The program of economic consolidation (*mise en valeur*) intensified under the Roume administration (1902-1908),^{xxv} with infrastructural development established in the service of a consolidated regional market, and (in 1903) with the establishment of free, secular (non-compulsory) primary education, in which French literacy and “practical [agricultural] training” were emphasized as integral components.^{xxvi} According to Conklin, during this period utilitarian arguments within the colonial administration regarding the question of a unifying language concluded with French as the sole contender: “[as] there were simply too many dialects to master,” “West Africa needed a common language as badly as it needed a common railroad system, and, by default, French was the only one available.”^{xxvii}

The colonial projection of French language use within the public domain reached its height under the administration of Governor William Ponty (1908-1914), during which time the

administration formally established the French language as the official language of the Federation, and established the Federation's first comprehensive course plan. The decision to exclusively employ French in official correspondence, however, involved the active displacement of an Arabic language and script whose de facto status as a transactional medium until 1911 (between the French and local leadership) implies the disingenuity of conclusions that French was the only contender for a unifying, regional language. In May 1911, Governor Ponty issued a circular banning the use of Arabic in judicial and administrative matters arguing that:

Arabic only enters into African countries with Muslim proselytism. For the Black it is a sacred language. Even indirectly to oblige those under our jurisdiction to learn it in order to maintain official relations with us comes to the same as encouraging the propaganda of the votaries of Islam.... Furthermore, most of our clerks cannot speak Arabic and are consequently incapable of exercising control over documents written in this language.^{xxviii}

This suggests, in other words, that the “selection” of French as a unifying regional language was informed less by its status as the sole alternative, than by the projected exclusions to the colonial administration implied by this linguistic contender-- much as the problem of facing “too many dialects to master” challenged not the native speaker, but rather the aspiring master.

As Ponty's circular suggests and as documents penned by colonial administrators from this period indicate, the spread of the French language (particularly under the Roume and Ponty administrations) was not only aimed at regional, market consolidation for the French colonies, but was also presented (in formulations that resonate with Faidherbe's earlier rhetoric of rival imperialisms) as an ideal antidote to the potentially radicalizing influences of the Arabic language as a religious medium. Following the alleged assassination of a colonial administrator by an Islamic cleric in Futa Jallon (later known as the “Goumba Crisis”), the Inspector General of the Colonies, M. Pherivong, suggested to superiors that the administration's dependency on a potentially hostile class of Arabic interpreters needed to be urgently remedied given the “existence of an Islamic problem” in the AOF; by his estimation, the spread of the French

language was “the best method of combating the activities of the marabouts about whom we are poorly informed since between them and us there is no contact except through interpreters who are their own pupils.”^{xxix} In documents dating from 1910, Mariani, the Inspector of Muslim Education in the AOF, wrote in a similar vein to Governor Ponty (in a document that curiously sacralizes European languages), stating that “[k]nowledge of the French language is the best possible antidote against the danger of a retrograde Islam,” and that: “The study of a living Christian language is the most effective remedy to Muslim fanaticism... The Mahommetans who know French or English are less fanatical and less dangerous than their co-religionists who can only speak Arabic, Berber or Turkish.”^{xxx} In addition to this projection of French as an antidote to Islamic radicalism, a strategy of containment was later proposed by the Islamicist Paul Marty, who recommended not only that Qur'anic schools be denied access to animist regions, but also that the use of Arabic script be bypassed with the transcription of local languages into the Latin alphabet.^{xxxi}

Following the establishment of the AOF in the 1890s, then, a period in which the colonial administration sought to replace outright military conflict with alternative modes of coercion and control, colonial records suggest the extent to which linguistic competition was seen to translate antagonistic relations of force. What began as the linguistic reformation of an elite class of interpreters (prompted by concerns of an over-reliance on Arabic language translators for official correspondence) extended to a broader language policy applicable to a general public, with the spread of the French language envisioned under the Ponty administration as being the most significant medium for the French “civilizing mission.” In this light, Ponty's 1911 circular banning the use of Arabic in official correspondence in the AOF also conveyed the converse of this decision, proposing the need “to accelerate the diffusion of our language” and the need to

encourage enrollment of “native children [in] our schools in greater numbers.”^{xxxii} Declaring that popular knowledge of the French language was “the primordial condition of our success and its longevity,” without which “the most praiseworthy intentions' of 'our administration and our justice' risked being misunderstood,” Ponty argued that through “schools of language where the children learn to understand and speak French”-- French influence would “insinuate itself among the masses, penetrate and envelop them like a thin web of new affinities.”^{xxxiii}

To extend this historical portrait of linguistic agonism within the public domain, an inverse perspective reveals that the colonial projection of French language use within the region coincided with a period of intense political turmoil in the Senegalese interior and with the growth of Islamic reform movements that had taken root in Senegal since the seventeenth century, bearing their own ideological and political projections for the future of the region, eventually filling the vacuum of authority created by the colonial weakening of a traditional aristocracy. It is in the wake of these reform movements that the projected expansion of the French language was conceived as a countervailing force to the potential antagonisms presented by political Islam, and in this context that Senegal's most widespread Islamic reform movement, Muridism, took hold. In both colonial documents and in murid sources, where the formation of a subsequent generation is concerned, the fault lines of linguistic competition can be read. As Harrison cogently argues, “Education policy [...] became the litmus test of French attitudes towards Islam in the colony,” and “in no case was the political aspect of education reform more clear than in the question of Muslim Education.”^{xxxiv} Not only was the Arabic language banned from official correspondence under the Ponty administration, but attempts were also made to reform, limit, and monitor Qur'anic schools and to displace them with French alternatives. In the words of Mariani, Director of Islamic education under Ponty, the French set about to “laicize,”

restrict, and control Islamic education by licensing marabouts, limiting enrollment to students already attending French schools, introducing French language pedagogy in Islamic institutes of higher education, and experimenting with Franco-Islamic *medersas*.^{xxxv} Although many of these French efforts to control Qur'anic education were later considered ineffective, the traces of these aggressive policies nonetheless throw into relief the linguistic frontlines of two competing spheres of influence. According to Babou's work on the murid founder, Bamba, "One of the biggest challenges that the Murids faced was keeping French schools out of their sacred space," leading the cleric himself to openly challenge the commandant of Diourbel (in 1914) to justify the policy of forcing his followers to study the French language (and, in the process, asking the commandant "how he would have felt if he was compelled to study Wolof").^{xxxvi} The concern of the cleric (who so rarely sought open contact with the French) is not surprising given his own conviction of the potency of education; as he (famously) wrote in his poem "Nahju": "teaching the youth is like inscribing on stone, teaching the old is like writing on water."^{xxxvii}

Even in the ultimate decision to limit the surveillance and control of Qur'anic pedagogy, the spirit of linguistic competition (and the mentality of an ideological, zero-sum game) is clearly inscribed in the writings of Paul Marty, the French Islamicist whose policy recommendations largely determined late colonial policy on Islam in the AOF (from his appointment in 1912). (Marty's assignment to the AOF, and Ponty's newfound belief in the necessity to hire Islamicists/Orientalists as policy advisors, follows soon after the publication of the Dutch Islamicist Hurgonje's 1911 article "The Conquest of Islam." Marty is also responsible for upholding the decision by Ponty to exclude the Arabic language from official use by the colonial apparatus.)^{xxxviii} By his initiative, intense efforts at pedagogical surveillance and control gave way to the perception that an extant Qur'anic pedagogy in the AOF suffered a comparative

disadvantage, and needed not be considered a threat. In this respect, he cited the impoverishment of qur'anic institutions, the poor training of teachers, the mechanical nature of qur'anic pedagogy, and (in a racist oppositional reading of “white” Moorish Islam and “black” Islam) alleged the general inability of black Africans to grasp the complexities of the Arabic language and to effectively adopt orthodox Islamic practice. (In one of his most egregious lines, Marty writes: “It has required the solidly thick skulls of our young Blacks to resist such an education.”^{xxxix}) The eventual decision to limit the regulation of qur'anic education therefore had less to do with the perception of a reduced threat posed by Muslim pedagogical institutions, than with a newfound belief in and celebration of their endemic failures and limitations. The training offered by qur'anic schools, according to Marty, offered:

[a] purely religious and purely mechanical education which has no effect on the intellectual development of the time... this qur'anic education system does not accuse any political danger... and has no bad repercussion on public tranquility. It would therefore, be impolitic to upset this institution which satisfies those who use it or to remedy its unfortunate social consequences by opposing it with French schools, burdened with all sorts of privileges, which restrict the freedom of the qur'anic education.^{xi}

The veneer of Islam and Arabic that cover this faith [in Black Africa]... is extremely superficial. Except for a few scholars whose intellectual achievements are quite impressive total ignorance dominates everywhere. Most of the teachers don't even know the elementary catechism to say the simple prayers correctly. The result is perhaps deplorable from an Islamic point of view but it is excellent from the French point of view.^{xii}

The very trends celebrated by Paul Marty on the limitations and endemic failures of local qur'anic schools, placing them at a comparative disadvantage to expanding French institutions, were those that Bamba, the founder of the *muridiyya* Sufi order, actively lamented and sought to limit in his efforts at pedagogical reform.

Self-Reflexivity and Linguistic Mastery in Bamba's Poetry

The earliest record of Bamba's presence as an Islamic authority (on judicial matters) occurred at the court of Lat Joor Joop (the Wolof regent of Kajor and patron of Bamba's father,

the cleric Muamar Anta Sali). After Lat Joor's defeat of Amadu Sheikhu (the Madiyanké jihadist) and during the enslavement and distribution of Sheikhu's defeated soldiers as war captives, Bamba came to public notice (1882-3) for objecting to the enslavement of fellow Muslims (after observing two enslaved captives, given to his father by Lat Joor, privately reciting the Qur'an in the family courtyard).^{xlii} Publicly arguing that it was unlawful to enslave a Muslim, his convictions pitted him against an older generation of clerics (including his former teacher Majakhate Kala) in a sequence of confrontations that influenced Bamba's subsequent decision to distance himself from court politics, and to develop a personal philosophy of nonviolence, unsullied by the interests of temporal rulers. Bamba's increasingly evident stance on the autonomy of a muslim clergy from secular rulers worked against Bamba at a time when the French actively sought to employ segments of a defeated (or weakened) aristocracy as intermediaries and interpreters, a class Bamba recurrently alienated by his outspoken views on their irrelevance.^{xliii} The first appearance of Bamba's name in colonial documents occurred in 1889, regarding the tension between Bamba's followers and African chiefs in Kajoor. Although the circumstances leading to his first arrest and exile in 1895 remain unclear, the basis of the verdict appears to have been distorted or falsified intelligence information on the amassing of weapons in preparation for an open declaration of jihad against the French. (Babou notes the following irony in Bamba's treatment at the hands of the French: despite Bamba's distance and estrangement from Lat Joor's court, the cleric's association with the Lat Joor through his father was held against him as evidence of guilt, and grounds for his exile to Gabon.)

The court proceedings that led to his first exile are not featured in Bamba's own account written during his second exile to Mauritania (1903-1907) (his *riḥla*, or travel narrative in Arabic), entitled “*Jazā’u Shakūr*” (“*Tribute to the worthy of recognition*”), written at request of

a certain Abdul Latif from the Moorish “tribe” of al-Hajj Mukhtar). Perhaps no account of Bamba's reaction to the exile, and no greater illustration of his linguistic allegiance and literary orientation exists than the following anecdote (published in his travel narrative) regarding the determinants and trajectory of his exile. Having been sentenced indefinitely to Gabon, as he awaited the boarding of his ship in Dakar, Bamba learns that a newly appointed Governor of the Federation, Chaudié has arrived in Dakar. Although the cleric begins drafting a letter of appeal to the newly appointed Governor (on the urging of an acquaintance), he subsequently regrets and begins drafting a poem affirming his trust in God-- what had begun as a draft letter of appeal to a colonial French representative is, in other words, displaced by a devotional poem appealing instead to a higher authority, in which the cleric reinterprets his fate in Gabon as a form of sacrifice, as a challenge presented by God, through which the French become mere instruments of a higher power.^{xliv} In his own account, Bamba underscores the profound religious significance of the exile, and reconceives of the event as a test of faith, drawing parallels to the exile of the Prophet Muhammad to Mecca and referencing Qur'anic idioms to strengthen his resolve, including excerpts from the Qur'anic Sura “The Spoils of War.”^{xlv} In a move that parallels Senghor's writing in French a generation later, and often in reference to a catholic tradition, Bamba's poem “*Jihād ul-naḥs*” (The struggle of the self) reconceives of this situational entrapment at the hands of the French in terms of sacrifice and purification, as the will of a higher power and in the service of a divine justice beyond human grasp. But, perhaps most importantly for the purposes of this study on the social poetics of language choice, Bamba's attribution of meaning to the arrest and exile lies in the linguistic mastery that this occasion allows, as both a test (an ardent illustration of his faith) and a benefaction of divine grace; it is this linguistic mastery, this linguistic transcendence gained during his eight years of isolation in

Gabon, to the esoteric power of a divine message, privately accessed, that effectively forms his *karāma*,^{xlvi} the precondition to his establishment (of the first Sufi brotherhood in sub-Saharan west Africa independent of its North-West African lineage).

In “*Massālik al-Jinān*” [“*Paths to Paradise*”], a poem originally penned before his exile, but rewritten after his return from Gabon, he claims that it was during his isolation in Gabon that (as paraphrased by Cheikh Anta Babou) “he acquired an understanding of the Arabic language never achieved by a nonnative speaker.”^{xlvii} In light of this new mastery, after his return from exile in Gabon, he rewrote many of his earlier poems, including for example “*Jathab al-Qulūb*” and “*Munawwir al-Sudūr*.” And it is this emphasis on linguistic mastery (an emphasis on that which unites muslims as opposed to what divides) that Bamba sustains, not only in the contours of colonial prejudice in his exile to Gabon, but also in reference to Mauritanian prejudice (racism and condescension, within the community of muslim scholars, during his second exile to Mauritania). In the preludes to his compositions written in Gabon, “*Muqaddimāt al-Khidma*” and “*Bidayāt al-khidma*,” Bamba compares himself and his work to the reknowned *Dilā’il al-khidmāt* of Suleiman al-Juzuli, deeming them “writings that surpass everything in virtue but the Qur’an.”^{xlviii}

The status of the Qur’an as divine revelation depends on the notion of its linguistic inimitability (‘*Ijāz*), its unsurpassibility or transcendence as an instance of speech. (This concept depends on the notion that the linguistic surpassing of the Qur’an would nullify its status as a miracle divinely ordained.) Bamba’s poetics of transcendence, intertwined with the notion of *ilhām* or divine inspiration, build upon this principle of the inimitability of divine speech, and on the poetic challenge implicit in the Qur’an as sacred speech. To the extent that the imitation of the Prophet (for rivalry would be heresy) is considered an act of piety by the devout, Bamba’s

eloquence in poetry is reflexively conveyed as a sign of miraculous transcendence within the Arabic language: his work, inspired by the Prophet, is thereby configured or imagined as an extension of the Prophet's miraculousness. As he claims in one of his devotional poems: "My Lord, you have made of this ode a miracle [*mu'jiza*, same root as *'Ijāz*], among the miracles of the Prophet."^{xlix} Bamba's execution of poetic excellence, within a language of intrinsic sacrality, is thus poetized as inspiration mediated through the Prophet's revelations (the Qur'an). To the extent that the poet imagines himself emulating the eloquence of the Prophet, the act of writing is itself a sign of grace, reinforcing a mutual or reciprocal choice between the poet and the divine. In this respect, Bamba claims, "I chose Allah as my master, Islam as my faith, and our lord Mohammad as my Prophet," while his poetry implies his position as a divinely chosen medium of the Prophet's message.¹ In "*Mafātiḥ al-Jinān*" ("The Keys to Paradise"), and "*Jathab al-Qulūb*" ("The Hearts' Attraction"), the latter rewritten after his return from exile, a certain mimesis or reflection of the Prophet and his transcendence is suggested. In "*Jathab al-Qulūb*" ("The Hearts' Attraction"), the poet writes:

هَبْ لِي نَكْوِ قَلَمِي بِشَارَةِ الْمَقْدَمِ
وَ اكْتَسِبْ بِهِ تَقْدِمَ بِلَا أذىٍ أَوْ أَلَمِ

Grant me, make of my pen, an annunciation favored by he who is
foremost
That I may write the foremost [verse] by his grace, without anguish or pain.¹

With the doubling of the motif of precedence or the foremost (المَقْدَمُ / تَقْدِمَ) to describe the status of the Prophet and of the poet's writing, the Prophet's supremacy as a benefactor is mirrored through the supremacy of the poet's verse as a benediction. A devotional poem that seeks the Prophet's blessing, in other words, reflects the supremacy of the Prophet through a verbal chiasmus, leaving its addressee to follow the advancement of these lines of poetry as the sign of an answered prayer. An excerpt from a second poem "*Mafātiḥ al-Jinān*" ("The Keys to

Paradise”) further demonstrates this self-reflexive, redefinition of linguistic and poetic mastery as a mimetic sign of benediction:

Towards me God grants that which I desire: knowledge beyond learning.
My miracles are the verses I trace, in the service of he that I serve,
I have become the bliss of my era, by my deeds and by my speech.^{lv}

Mediating a mystical experience of approaching the divine, the act of writing (as conveyed by these lines) becomes an act of revelation through which the poet’s ego or subjectivity is displaced by divine will. By the virtue of this displacement, the very notion of the poet’s selfhood is troubled, as the ode becomes a medium of transcendence, a mimetic field (in the imitation of the Prophet) that is not without its ambiguity, a posture of self-abnegation and self-instrumentation that resembles a kind of *supremacy*:

Would that my poetry from hereon transcend the status of prayer and fast,
And unveil by these lines the hidden realms of you that know all, you the greatest, the all-knowing.
Would that you grant me closeness to he who intercedes against injustice and oppression [the Prophet].
Would that my writing direct me towards you, and that my life direct me towards him.
May the all-powerful grant me ease where others toil, showing me the path of the righteous.
By the immense power of the Prophet, may my poem be the greatest subject of your satisfaction.
Make of my action and inaction equal gestures of eternal adoration,
and may my writings equal the pilgrimage, the fast, and the prayer, and save my people.
Make of my life an enduring worship, bearing the message of the Prophet,
And elevate towards your sacred throne this ode, by your sacred name.^{lvii}

As this last excerpt suggests, the poetic act as a medium of divine sanctuary and revelation extends beyond the figure of the individual poet, with the poet’s promise or hope of collective salvation against injustice and oppression.

In Bamba's own interpretation, his second exile to Mauritania (1903-7)^{lv} is continuous with the first. For, if the challenge of his exile in Gabon was due to his separation from a Muslim community, his enclosure within a Muslim clergy in Mauritania was considered (in Bamba's interpretation) a reward for having surpassed his test of faith in isolation in Gabon. The grounds of his foundation of an independent order are (additionally) enabled by his own linguistic mastery, a benediction granted in exile, as Bamba claims he received the Murid *wird*

directly from Prophet Muhammad in 1905 (AH 1322), in Sarsaara in Southwest Mauritania. As Babou writes, “The reception of the wird was a turning point in the spiritual development of Amadu Bamba and of Islam in Senegal. For the first time in the history of Islam in sub-Saharan Africa, a black man had parted with Middle Eastern Sufi tariqas to claim the status of a founder,” evolving from an aspirant seeking *baraka* to a sheikh founding an independent order.^{lv} Bamba herein integrates himself into a continental, Arabic canon, while asserting his erudite status among equals. Despite his political marginalization in Senegal, Bamba's recognition (for poetic eloquence) assumes a paramount form of symbolic capital in the Mauritanian context, as the black poet becomes the subject of eulogies composed in his honor by (white, Moorish) disciples from among the Banu Daymaani (a lineage of prestigious Moorish clerics).^{lvi} This acknowledgment can be considered all the more significant for the early years of racism Bamba allegedly suffered as a Qadiriyya student of Sidiyya Baba in Mauritania^{lvii}-- prompting him to begin one of his most renowned poems ^{lviii}(written after his return from this initial period in Mauritania) with an assertion about the indifference of erudition to ethnicity or race:

<p>فكلماً فيه صحيح اثبتاً فحسن الطرّ به اثبتاً [...] عن اخذه كوني من السوداء الله اكثرهم تقوى بلا اشتباك</p>	<p>فكلماً فيه صحيح اثبتاً ولا يصدّد مدى الازمان اذا اكرام العباد عند الله اكثرهم تقوى بلا اشتباك</p>
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All that is in this [work] is right and steady,
 And turn not away from its acceptance
 of the blacks]
 For the greatest of God's devotees

so hone yourself with it readily,
 for the blackness of my skin [literally: for I am one
 are those that worship with detachment [literally:
 without entanglement]^{lix}.

According to Bachir Mbacke, this earliest visit to Mauritania may have convinced Bamba on the future of his order in Senegal. In disputes and debates in Mauritania with Moorsih clerics, Bamba continually emphasized (as though in leitmotif) that Muslims should focus on what unites rather than what divides-- and Bamba's reflexive emphasis on language, in this tradition as in his

poetry, appears to have been conceived as a unifying strategy in context of endemic racial divisions within the continental Muslim community).

Bamba, concerned with the problem of orthodoxy and with aberrant practices of Islamic syncretism, returned to the teaching of classical works of Sufism as an antidote to unwarranted innovations within religious practice. Envisioning himself from the outset as a pedagogical reformer, and pitting himself against an older generation of clerics at the court of Lat Joor Joob, the Wolof *dameel* of Kajoor, Bamba included among his early literary merits the versification of classic works of Sufi mysticism (with the versification itself functioning in part as a mnemonic device for both the aspiring student, and for an illiterate/semi-literate audience).^{lx} According to Babou, Bamba's most important works on education written for pedagogical purposes were, not insignificantly, written prior to his exile at Pataar in the 1870s, and in Mbakke Bawol in 1884. As Babou further emphasizes on Bamba's ambitions for pedagogical reform, Bamba also regretted the conventionally mechanical nature in which students memorized the Coran, and subsequently developed a tiered system of training for his followers (*ta'lim*, *tarbiyya*, *tarqiyya*), from Quranic learning and devotional work (to accommodate those unable to or disinterested in textual study) to direct pedagogical sessions with the Cheikh.^{lxi} An anecdotal account describes how Bamba, having observed public, performative feats with the Qur'an by erudite Hafiths (engaging in the mechanical recitation of verses based on the frequency of a certain word's appearance in the Qur'an, a practice known as *wagne*), lamented that these innovations are symptoms that the Qur'an "had become an orphan" in the region.^{lxii}

As Cruise O'Brien details in his work on the Murid school, the most unique of Bamba's pedagogical innovations involved the notion of devotional work: in this respect Bamba (and his closest devotees) developed a model of economic autonomy and self-sufficiency for the qur'anic

school (the *daara tarbiyya*), that allowed for its sustenance apart from traditional centers of secular power. The attachment of the *daara* to an agricultural center meant not only that the murid qur'anic school was self-sufficient; the eventual prominence and success of devotional Murid labor also proved a source of perplexity for the colonial administration, who compared the independent (untaxed) Murid *daara* to a blank spot in a tilled field. As Governor Ponty noted, “It is undeniable that for the Mouride our authority scarcely exists and that in matters concerning his disciples it is often the Cheikh who decides for them. [...] Under the cover of religion a part of the public fortune is removed from the colony each year.”^{lxiii} With a certain irony, policies initially designed by the French to marginalize Bamba's public, political influence corresponded to the rising of his order to a position of economic prominence, as Murid *daaras*, owing in part to the perceived martyrdom and salvation of the founder in exile, increased in number despite French efforts at containment. The increasingly visible economic potential of the Murids initiated a period of forced cooperation between the French and perceived former opponents among the Murid clergy (especially around the First World War, when the French intensified their conscription efforts and their economic exploitation of the colonies), in an unexpected historical turn that Robinson refers to as the Murid founder's extraordinary capacity to convert symbolic capital into economic capital.^{lxiv} In reading these trends in tandem, I suggest that this mutual accommodation had a linguistic analogue, culminating in a final symbiosis through which the French language assumed an exclusive position as a public, official acrolect, while the Arabic language continued to be upheld as a form of unrivaled symbolic capital as a privately devotional status language.

In the course of tracing Bamba's perspective on this process, the following ligature between both forms of examined material-- French colonial documents and Bamba's writings,

intended for a readership among the faithful-- should be noted. The racial determinants of Paul Marty's ultimate policy for cooperation with the Murids are also the racial determinants of Bamba's insistence on his own Arabic language mastery, as a paramount form of social capital in his exile to both Gabon and Mauritania. In this respect, I refer to the derivatives of Marty's codification of a religious ethnography, to his distinction between an "Islam Noir" and an "Islam Maure." According to this codified ethnography which formed the basis of late colonial Islamic policy, "Black Islam" (*L'Islam Noir*) as practiced by black, sub-Saharan Africans, fundamentally tends to heterodoxy and ideological corruption. This ethnographic codification (developed soon after Marty took office in 1912 in part of an intelligence review for the newly refurbished Muslim Affairs bureau, and published internally in his 1917 *Études sur l'Islam au Sénégal*)^{lxv} was not only the reason for the French colonial devaluation of a perceived ideological threat among Senegalese Muslims (thereby enabling more normalized relations with Muslim clerics of the Senegalese interior); it was also the colonial, French *translation* of endemic racial prejudices *within* the Islamic community in the Senegalo-Mauritanian zone, according to which inveterate racial distinctions could be made between authentic, orthodox Muslims among the "white" Moorish community [the *bidān*] and "recent converts" among the "blacks" [the *sudān*] to the South, still influenced by "pagan" custom, and limited in their grasp of religious orthodoxy and Islamic science by the alleged inferiorities of their race. As David Robinson reveals (in his *Paths of Accommodation*), Marty's ethnographic constructions were highly informed by the racial views of the Mauritanian (*bidān*) Cheikh Sidiyya Baba: a close French collaborator, a *former teacher of Bamba* in the Qadiriyya order, and co-architect of colonial Mauritania, itself a racial construction based on this distinction between the *bidān* [whites] and the *sudān* [blacks].^{lxvi} The self-reflexive aspect of Bamba's writing, calling attention to his own linguistic mastery and

erudition as the basis of his religious authority, can thereby be seen to respond to an exceptional convergence of both colonial and continental racism. In this regard, Bamba's writing in exile and on exile in Gabon, a period in which the cleric allegedly attains a linguistic mastery unrivaled by other non-native speakers, serves two functions. It responds to the cleric's marginalization by a French colonial apparatus (with the assertion of a higher authority and the presumption of a greater autonomy, granted by linguistic access to the divine), but also paves the way for his accession to a rival or equal status within the erudite Muslim community of the Mauritanian *bidān* (whites), as an independent founder of his own Sufi order (developed in his second exile in Mauritania, with the mystical revelation of his *wird*^{lxvii} in Sarsāra, Southern Mauritania). In keeping with David Robinson's thesis on the convertibility of social capital (in the context of accommodation between Muslim clerics and the French colonial apparatus), the basis of Bamba's authority, the development of his non-native linguistic mastery and erudition, not only foregrounds his religious prominence in Senegal as the founder of muridism, and his reception in Mauritania (praised for his literary merits by the *bidān* among the Damyani tribe), but also foregrounds his later accommodation by the French colonial apparatus, as a prominent religious authority with an indispensable following.

This chapter was devoted to two ways of contextualizing self-reflexive patterns in Bamba's work. In the first instance, I considered how Bamba's writing on his first exile in Gabon depicted his use of the Arabic language as a means of transcendence beyond the coercions of secular power. I consider this, in the context of his deliberate removal from his following in Senegal, to be a way in which his chosen language of composition assumes a private orientation, as a personal or esoteric means of accession to the divine. In the context of Bamba's second exile (to Mauritania), the poet's mastery of the Arabic language grants him another factor of

transcendence: it is by virtue of his linguistic mastery that the cleric in Mauritania claims to transcend the racial prejudice of the *bidan* (“whites”) over the *sudan* (“blacks”), reconfiguring his language of composition as a means of egalitarianism (and paralleling in function Senghor's poetry in French a generation later).

Conclusion:

Although Bamba was permitted to return to Senegal from Mauritania (in 1907), increased and closer surveillance became a precondition for normalized relations with the Murid founder, who was kept under house arrest in the remote semi-desert between Jolof and Waalo upon his return.^{lxviii} Troubled nonetheless by the continual flow of disciples to this remote location, the French limited his visitors, closed Murid schools in his direct surroundings (in Cayeen), and repeatedly relocated Bamba to new sites to discourage aspiring devotees. Despite these efforts to limit Bamba's movement in Senegal prior to his death in 1927, and to remove the Sheikh to ever more remote locations from his following, the sequence of Bamba's displacements came to form the basis of a sacred geography for the Murid devotee in Senegal). Where Bamba identifies (in his own writing) a spatial distinction between his native village (in Mbacke Bawol) and “*al-baḥr*” (“the ocean,” a euphemism or metaphor for his exile in Gabon), a racial distinction between Mauritania and Senegal, his writings on exile are clearly inscribed within a Qur'anic geography of Prophetic emulation (as Bamba compared his deportation to Gabon to the Prophet's “*hijra*” or forced migration from Mecca to Medina). This cartographic inscription of the Qur'anic *hijra* in Senegal came to be extended and formalized by Bamba's following with the Murid practice of “*maggal*” [meaning commemoration in Wolof], an annual pilgrimage to Bamba's last location in Senegal (Touba) before his trial and exile to Gabon.^{lxix}

On the occasion of Bamba's death in 1927, a generation of poets and hagiographers writing in Wolof Ajami sought to translate his work into Wolof, not only contributing to the greater accessibility of the Cheikh's teachings, but also promoting a less purist stance on the Arabic language as a literary medium for devotional poetry. As Bamba's most renowned hagiographer, Sëriñ Muusaa Ka, wrote of his chosen language of composition:

Wolof, Arabic, and all other
languages are equally valuable:
All poetry is fine, that
aims at praising the Prophet.^{lxx}

If Bamba's early ambitions for meaningful pedagogical reform and improved Qur'anic and Arabic language literacy in Senegal remained limited to a close following of immediate devotees (such as Ka, capable of writing in Arabic script but mediating for an illiterate or semi-literate following), so too was the early twentieth century French goal of widespread pedagogical reform in Senegal. As Conklin concludes, if the ultimate French goal of reinventing rural education failed, resulting in an eventual French literacy rate in Senegal of merely 20 percent, the stated prewar objective for public education ("creating a class of literate [francophone] auxiliaries") nonetheless left an indelible mark on the future of language politics in the region.^{lxxi} A year after Bamba's passing (in 1928), the future first president of independent Senegal, Léopold Sédar Senghor, began his inaugural voyage from Senegal to France, as one of Senegal's first graduates of the French pedagogical system in the AOF to earn a scholarship for higher education in France. In contrast with the linguistic and geographic/political orientation of his arabophone predecessors (presuming an audience within the Senegalo-Mauritanian zone), Senghor's eventual orientation as a linguistic policymaker in Senegal assumed a consistently trans-continental, trans-Atlantic orientation, with the belief (or the institutional prejudice) that French was the only possible contender for an official language in Senegal.

Re-reading Negritude through the crisis of transcription & the transcendence of caste

The previous chapter on Amadu Bamba's poetry analyzed how his transcendentalist themes assumed both a religious import, as a sign of integration into a trans-continental ecumene, and a counter-colonial, political posture in historical context. In this regard, and in keeping with the dissertation's overall concern with the social poetics of language choice, I illustrated how Bamba's mastery of the Arabic language was itself reflexively portrayed as a *sign* of divine inspiration, transcendence, and religious authority in his poetry (a religious authority that implicitly surpasses its worldly, colonial rivals). My interpretation of Bamba's work extends into a comparative close-reading with (or a palimpsestic analysis of) Senghor's French language poetry in this second chapter of the dissertation. Despite the mutual exclusivity of their two rival linguistic traditions, and the unprecedented nature of such comparison, I argue that the work of these two poetic figures nonetheless share significant commonalities.

In this respect, their poetic work illustrates parallel trends in the adaptation of a foreign language through which racial hierarchies were historically implied. In each case, they highlight or poetize the intrinsic value of a given language (Arabic or French), such that the poetry effectively *acts* as an apologetic defense of their choice of language, recasting its use as a sign of transcendence. A second commonality can be found as the work of both poets, writing under conditions of colonial prejudice, inscribe in their poetry the traces of conquest and subjugation, the contours of racism, that are *both* (colonial) transatlantic and (pre-colonial) continental. For Bamba, this axis was signified by the difference between the '*arab*' and the '*ajam*', the native and the non-native speaker of Arabic, whereas for Senghor, this meant a parallel hierarchy, of the French over the francophone.

In both cases, the poet's linguistic competence in his adopted language is projected as a

sign of equality, as the adopted language becomes a vessel of transcendence beyond racial alterity, towards a sense of the universal whether secular or divine. The writings of Bamba and Senghor can thus be read as divergent poetic responses to political disempowerment, through which linguistic choice can be read as *redefining* the nature of freedom itself. The notion that language becomes a medium of emancipation is recurrently conveyed in the writings of each poet, and can be compared on salvational or semi-messianic grounds, as each language is reflexively portrayed as a form of deliverance to the poet himself.

In the following discussion, I examine how Senghor transforms the contours of linguistic coercion into linguistic choice through reflexive tropes in his poetry in a manner reminiscent of Bamba's work in Arabic, and consider how a parallel pattern (of linguistic coercion reconfigured) suffuses not only his writings on Francophone poetics, but also his public pronouncements as a linguistic policymaker. My purpose, in this respect, is to consider how Senghor's reconfiguration of linguistic coercion as choice occurs on two different but mutually constructive levels. The following conclusions are based not only on close readings of Senghor's poetry, but also on an archival survey of Senghor's public speeches during his position as a statesman in French West Africa and as Senegal's first president (from 1960-1980, based on archival holdings in Dakar and on his collected publications). I pursue this parallel reading to consider not only how the traces of Senghor's linguistic choices are contrasted between his poetry and his public pronouncements, but also as another experimental reading in support of the following claim (successively developed in the dissertation): for the purposes of developing a comparative approach to reading "third world" texts, the most compelling (or prevalent) correspondence between political trends and the literary text is metalingual rather than strictly referential. I contend that this common denominator (embedded in the question of linguistic choice, common to the authors examined in

this study) invites a method of comparative reading that is linguistically “palimpsestic” rather than strictly “allegorical.”

To this effect, and for the dissertation as a whole, I consider Senghor as a transitional figure between Bamba writing prolifically in Arabic towards the turn of the century (at a time when the Arabic language both flourished as a poetic medium in Senegal, and was marginalized from the political sphere as an “official” language by a rival, colonial French) and Sembene's filmic experiments and promotion of the Wolof language towards the end of the twentieth century, as a more democratically representative, local alternative to *francophonie*.^{lxxii} My interpretation of Senghor and his work as an intermediary between these two figures is reflected in the structure of this chapter. I begin by considering the possible traces of the institutional marginalization of Arabic in Senghor's writing, while examining how self-reflexive tropes in Senghor's poetry (the notion of linguistic mastery and linguistic salvation, the reconfiguration of surrender as sacrifice) liken him to Bamba. This reading of Senghor's poetic reconfiguration of linguistic coercion into an assertion of liberty considers the term *négritude* (designating “the sum of all black cultural values,” a ‘complement’ to *francophonie*, or the idea of French as a ‘universal’ language) in both his poetry and political speeches as more a linguistic concept than a racial one.^{lxxiii} Having considered *négritude*'s poetic instantiation in the first portion of the chapter, I thereafter trace how *négritude* as a linguistic concept develops at the front-lines of linguistic competition in Senghor's policymaking, and how it fares under the cumulative pressures of linguistic alternatives to French as both an official language in Senegal and as a language of international and economic access. In this final case, by examining key instances of bilingualism in Senghor's public speeches (and comparing them to examples of bilingualism in his poetry), I consider what is effectively untranslated or untranslatable in Senghor's own speech

patterns, to suggest both the limits of *négritude* as a concept (on the integrity of cultural translation) and the limits of Francophonie as a democratically representative, “official” language in Senegal. The conclusion of this chapter, on Senghor's use of Wolof in public address, forms a bridge to the following chapter on the Senegalese author, pioneering filmmaker and Wolof linguistic activist, Ousmane Sembene, whose work on the poetics and politics of language choice in Senegal stands in self-conscious opposition to both Senghor's *Francophonie*, and to the alleged displacement of native languages by the regional expansion of Arabic.

Senghor and Arabic: The negative contours of a marginalized textual tradition

Senghor's writing is characterized by a striking ambivalence where an Arabic literary precedent in West Africa is concerned. Though he considers Arab-Islamic influences on French West African literature to be effectively “foreign,” he laments the colonial marginalization of this heritage, of Islamic and Arabic language pedagogy, as a symptom of systemic inequalities in the French colonies, and of colonial discrimination on religious grounds. In addition to criticizing discrimination against Muslims in the A.O.F. (in a 1946 speech to the French National Assembly on inequitable practices in granting French citizenship and scholarship funds),^{lxxiv} Senghor also claims to have been among the first to emphasize the necessity of introducing the Arabic language into the local, colonial pedagogical system in Senegal. Despite these defenses of an Arabic heritage and Islamic presence, and his later promotion of the Arabic language as an instrument of continental unity (cf. Senghor's 1967 *Les Fondements de l'africanité; ou, Négritude et arabité*), Senghor in his early work admits of the “foreign” status of “Arabo-Berber” influences in West African literature, with little recognition of the poetic syncretism and experiments in Arabophone poetry that were effectively his literary precedent (and also with little

recognition of the hostile sub-Saharan/Mauritanian Arab race relations that preceded French colonial discrimination, and contextualize this earlier “syncretism”). In this respect, his public eulogies of Cheikh Ahmadou Bamba, in the inauguration of the Murid mosque in Touba in 1963, for example, acknowledge the social impact of the Murid founder in Senegal, and even consider him as a historical figure of “negrified” Islam,^{lxxv} but without explicit reference to his poetry: “*Ce qu’Ahmadou Bamba, encore une fois, a voulu, c’est enraciner l’Islam en terre noire. En l’africanisant; osons le dire, en le négrifiant.*”^{lxxvi} Given Senghor’s position as a poet and literary critic whose comparative scope and omnivorous interests range from works in Latin to Dravidian languages, and whose speeches extend to esoteric Arabic poetics,^{lxxvii} the absence of any reference by Senghor to this local poetic tradition is particularly marked, and suggests either a conscious omission or, more likely, the institutional, mutual exclusivity of the Francophone literary canon that he represents and the Arabophone one that he fails to reference.^{lxxviii} Responding to proponents of a “negro-african *tabula rasa*,” who proclaim the primitiveness of sub-Saharan African languages and advance “*la thèse de l’anarchie nègre, [qui] ne voulait voir, dans nos grands Etats du Moyen Age et des Temps modernes, qu’une création de l’Islam*” [the thesis of black anarchy, that does not wish to perceive in our great states of the Medieval Age and of the modern era more than a creation of Islam], Senghor highlights the presence of an (Arab-influenced) local textual literature, but suggests his preference for an “oral tradition” that is a more “authentic” expression of “*l’âme noire*” [the black spirit].^{lxxix} In his words:

[Les grands africanistes] vous diront que l’Afrique noire possède des langues souples, riches, capables d’exprimer jusqu’aux abstractions, encore que d’une manière tout africaine, imagée et poétique. Ils vous diront qu’elle possède un certain nombre de langues écrites. Cependant, je préfère, à sa littérature écrite, influencée la plupart du temps, par l’Arabe, et partant empreinte de rhétorique, la littérature orale des griots, nos troubadours, qui ne laisse pas d’être savante en exprimant “la chaleur émotionnelle” de l’âme noire.^{lxxx}

The great africanists will tell you that black Africa possesses supple, rich languages, capable of expressing even abstractions, although in a manner entirely african, imaged and poetic. They would tell you that she possesses a certain number of written languages. Nonetheless, I prefer, to her written literature, influenced the majority of the time by Arabic, and leaving the imprint of rhetoric, the oral literature of the *griots*, our troubadours, that take no leave of erudition while expressing the “emotional warmth” of the black soul.^{lxxxi}

Though he here undercuts the position of Arabic-influenced writing to authentically or optimally convey “*l’âme noire*” [the black soul], or to embody the emotional vibrancy of oral poetry, in his later writings on the ultimate syncretism of *négritude* and *Francophonie*, he nonetheless promotes an alternative foreign vessel or medium for this “*chaleur émotionnelle*.” In this respect, he justifies his linguistic choice with arguments on the primacy of cultural “bicephalism” (bilingualism) and “*métissage*” (miscegenation) according to which French is the intrinsic complement and thus ideal textual vessel for the local, authentically “African” oral tradition that precedes it (with little or no attention paid to the Arabic or Arabic-influenced textual tradition it overtakes).

Beyond the observation that Senghor’s pedagogical training within a Francophone system corresponds to his relative ignorance of an Arab-influenced textual tradition (due to his unfamiliarity with the language, but also in part to the colonial displacement of Arabic as an official language in Senegal), this paradox-- that Senghor favors the Francophone invention of *négritude*, while consciously dismissing the possibility that an *extant* textual practice might equally transcribe or mediate an authentically “African” heritage -- may have a second explanation. In keeping with Senghor’s writings on the concept of *négritude* and with aforementioned conclusions on the ambiguity of linguistic choice (as partially free and partially coerced), Senghor’s dismissal of extant practices of transcription in Arabic, and his increasing defense of African Francophone writing, recasts the French language as a standard that is

consciously chosen rather than *forcefully imposed*. Regardless of the merit or longevity of his arguments on the intrinsic values of the French language, his writings, in this regard, and the evolution of his linguistic politics exemplify more general historical patterns on linguistic ascendancy, according to which “the power of any particular standard may be unrelated to the inherent benefits it has to offer,” such that “the network power of a standard alone,” i.e., the cumulative potential of social access it offers, and the cumulative elimination of possible alternatives, “may be sufficient to drive it toward conventionality.”^{lxxxii} Senghor’s development of the concept of *négritude* can therefore be linguistically read as an assertion of liberty, given that “the choice to adopt a dominant standard [...] becomes an increasingly coerced one, for the only options are to join it or face social isolation”; his development of the concepts of *négritude* and *Francophonie* (as two poles of a dialectic) in order to recast linguistic coercion as voluntarism, in other words, likens him less to Orpheus on the recovery of what is lost than to Sisyphus at the summit, undergoing a moment of lucidity in a situation of systemic entrapment.

lxxxiii

The poetics of linguistic coercion: French as a language of force and liberty

In his critical works (or extra-poetic) texts, Senghor develops an aesthetics of *négritude* to ultimately justify his assumption of French as his principal language of composition.^{lxxxiv} In his poetry, a parallel recasting of coercion as *choice* is evident, as he develops a sequence of motifs through which the term *négritude* is baptized as a resolution to the problem of coercion or partial choice, in which a situational drama of force is commuted into one of freedom. The most prevalent of these is the poet's transformation of the terms of capitulation and surrender into those of sacrifice, projecting within scenes of absolute entrapment a space for volition. (Among the more disturbing and illustrative is that of a woman on the point of ravishment who *chooses* to

surrender herself to an ultimately overwhelming power, in Senghor's inaugural use of the term *négritude* in his poetry.) A second example of this poetic reconfiguration of force into *choice* occurs with the self-reflexive trope of the *pardon*, a trope through which victim becomes judge in a subtle inversion of power. Although most critics have read this motif of pardon or forgiveness (the same term in French) as a motif of *resignation* in Senghor's poetry, I consider this an under-reading, for the motif of the pardon projects an antecedent act of judgment and free choice between punishment and absolution; the pardon as a speech act, in other words, signifies an act of suspended violence. When couched in the language of religious forgiveness and within the form of a poetized prayer, the pardon moves beyond an insistence of liberty in secular terms, instead becoming a rhetorical device through which the speaker assumes a privileged role as intercessor to the divine, as presumed guarantor for punishment suspended. I argue that this self-reflexive pattern in Senghor's poetry, the sacrificial trope as a reconfiguration of liberty in the midst of colonial violence, is reminiscent of Bamba's own poetic response to his entrapment and exile at the hands of the colonial administration. (In this respect, Bamba's abandonment of an initial letter of appeal to the colonial authorities in favor of a devotional poem to a higher power suggests the poet's transformation of the terms of his own surrender into those of sacrifice, as he foregoes the prospect of a secular, judicial pardon by submitting instead to a higher judge.) As revealed in Bamba's poetic account of his first exile, *Jazaau Shakuur*, the colonial sentence imposed upon the Sufi poet is re-interpreted in his writing as a form of benediction, consecrated through a self-reflexive register that pervades his poetry: the linguistic mastery in Arabic that Bamba attains in exile, evident in his poetic writing, reconfigures a situational imposition into one freely chosen. As the poet in Arabic (writing in exile, and on his exile) reflexively designates his poetry a sacrificial object to a higher power, he implies that he is himself

linguistically and religiously transformed in the act of designation, as an object of sacrifice to a divine intercessor.

As I demonstrate further (as is most evident in Senghor's collection entitled, *Hosties Noires* (with the significantly ambiguous meaning of both: "Black Victims" and "Black Sacrifices")) the conceit of the sacrifice in Senghor's work, in a religiously syncretic, catholic-animist context, also assumes a self-reflexive quality with regard to his chosen language of consecration. Particularly when the poem assumes the form of a prayer, the motif of the sacrifice becomes a way of liaising, resolving, or defending the choice or the projection of one divine addressee over another (and implicitly of one language or speech act over another). Not only is the poem as sacrificial object transformed in the act of designation, but the poetic speaker is also implicated in the transformation (turning a religious and linguistic imposition into one freely chosen, through the rhetorical tropes of sacrificial designation and the intercession to pardon). Both of these tropes (the sacrifice and the pardon) imply a transcendental act of fulfillment, and insist upon the primacy of *speech* in this fulfillment: just as the pardon exists only by declaration, something is turned into a sacrifice, made sacred, by its ritual *designation*.^{lxxxv}

Etymologically, the term sacrifice not only implies an act of offering, but also the transformation of the object offered into a sacred object through ritual or speech. This motif of sacrificial transformation in Senghor's poetry is not merely inscribed in *Catholic terms* (of *Christian pardon and messianic resurrection*), but also in terms of ancestral protection and reincarnation: an event becomes sacrificial not only through the Christic motif of martyrdom and resurrection (sacrifice as a semi-messianic fulfillment), but also through an alternative system of value, as the terms of sacrifice are made with the intercession, evocation, and reincarnation of ancestral spirits, the *pangool*.

If a reflexive register persists within Senghor's poetry through the self-nomination of the speaker as bearer of prophecy and pardon, a second analogue to this reflexive register in Senghor's poetry lies in the transformation of the speaker from a birthright *guelwaar* (member of the Sereer warrior caste) to a self-designated *djeli* or *griot* (member of the orator caste). Both of these poetized transformations of the speaker (as sacrificial designate and *djeli*) animate on the level of elocution a dominant trend or concept in Senghor's work: the transmutation of force into *choice*, the persistence of liberty within scenes of ultimate entrapment. In this regard, Senghor poetically reconfigures the concepts of transcendence and liberty in his work, by recasting his "chosen" language of composition not only as the byproduct of an elocutionary drama of sacrifice and pardon, but also as an intrinsic expression of liberty. Senghor's reflexive presentation of French as an emancipatory language that not only transcends caste but also racial divisions parallels the reflexive designation of *Arabic* in Bamba's poetry.

Within a rival linguistic tradition, Senghor's "chosen" language of composition is recurrently poised as the "natural" vessel of revolutionary or enlightenment ideas on liberty and equality, a posture that is significantly developed through the reflexive theme of caste renunciation: it is a theme through which the poet not only dignifies oratory (as opposed to textual) traditions with reference to the *griot/djeli* caste, but also projects the social analogue to this linguistic emancipation, through the imagined dismantling or reinvention of traditional systems of caste in favor of a more inclusive egalitarianism. The figure of the *griot* has been much examined in Senghor studies, inviting controversy regarding the authenticity of his references to traditional, oral poetry, yet extant criticism on this motif are (I consider) tantamount to an under-reading without a sustained attention to the caste contrasts that dominate Senghor's reference to the oral tradition of the *griots*. In this regard, an oral poetics as an expression of

négritude is not merely a generic (oratory) complement to the French language, but also conveys an emancipatory call through its implied transformation of the speaker, in a process of liberation that *redefines* the nature of freedom itself, not as a *status* (opposing the noble to the “casted”), but as a *right* that privileges self-creation over inheritance.

Although a eulogistic register dominates his poetry with regard to the *guelwaar* (warrior caste), Senghor's dignification of a native hereditary class is coupled by a poetics of renunciation,^{lxxxvi} with the speaker relinquishing his birthright status as *guelwaar* (sereer warrior) in favor of the orator's role (*djeli*). As an act of volition that opposes birthright to self-creation, this renunciation and rebaptism of the speaker as a self-designated member of the lower caste presages in semi-messianic terms the advent of egalitarian ideals ushered into being by contact with colonial forces and imposed upon the battlefield under the aegis of the tricolor and the French language. Though most pronounced in *Hosties Noires*, this motif of caste renunciation resumes and resolves the tropes of schismatic fealty, of the prodigal son and jealous ancestral gods, that dominate Senghor's first collection of poems, *Chants d'ombre*.^{lxxxvii} The dual role of the *djeli* as both the inferior of the *guelwaar* class and as the proponent of its glory resolves the problem of the prodigal son through the double task of the speaker as eulogist. As the speaker humbly relinquishes his birthright status, becoming a *djeli/orator*^{lxxxviii} in an act of humility, he eulogistically upholds the virtues of his original caste. By favoring the power of speech over the traditional glories of his warrior forebears, he both relinquishes and regenerates the virtues of his lineage, privileging precolonial oral (as opposed to textual) traditions as a natural complement to the assumption or imposition of Francophonie. It is in this light that Senghor conflates two speech genres in *Hosties Noires*, palimpsestically inscribing an *apology* within his *eulogies* from the level of elocution.

A prime example of this apologistic eulogy is Senghor's inaugural poem of *Hosties Noires*, "Poème Liminaire," a poem that revisits the theme of the prodigal son to dramatize the speaker's renunciation of caste. The speaker, addressing an ancestral founder of the Kingdom of Saloum, requests forgiveness for his relinquishment of the warrior status, as he delegates himself *griot* (or orator) of his people: "Forgive your great-nephew if he has traded his lance/ For the sixteen beats of the *sorong*."^{lxxxix} As the poem progresses, it is revealed that the speaker couples his renunciation with a reinvention of the caste system. In the poem's fourth movement, the speaker heralds a "new nobility," whose role is:

[N]ot to dominate our people, But to be their rhythm and their heart
 Not to feed upon the land, but to rot like millet seeds in the soil
 Not to be the people's head, but their mouth and their trumpet.^{xc}

Notre noblesse nouvelle est non de dominer notre peuple, mais d'être son rythme et son cœur
Non de paître les terres, mais comme le grain de millet de pourrir dans la terre
Non d'être la tête du peuple, mais bien sa bouche et sa trompette.^{xc}

Embodying a new class of (what I would call) the "noble griot," the speaker of "Poème liminaire" nominates himself the elegist of the fallen Senegalese *tirailleur* [sharpshooter], and opposes his orature not only to the exclusions of traditional nobility, but also to the omissions of bureaucrats and continental "poets" who sing of "heroes," but none of "black skin."^{xcii}

Senghor complicates this eulogistic register through the drama of class inversion and class renunciation in another poem, "Taga de Mbaye dyôb" [Ode to Mbaye dyob], in which the speaker heralds the egalitarian power of the European trenches by underscoring the valor of the commoner and the relative humility of the *guelwaar*-eulogist. Beginning with the traditional gesture of oral praise poets (the repetition of the subject's surname), the speaker relinquishes his superior birthright status by designating himself as the *djeli* (eulogist) of a commoner, conferring upon a soldier of unknown lineage the traditional glories of the warrior caste :

Mbaye Dyôb! je veux dire ton nom et ton honneur.
Dyôb! je veux hisser ton nom au haut mât du retour, sonner ton nom comme la cloche qui
chante la victoire
Je veux chanter ton nom Dyôbène! toi qui m'appelais ton maître [...]
Dyôb! qui ne sais remonter ta généalogie et domestiquer le temps noir, dont les ancêtres
ne sont pas rythmés par la voix du tama [...]
Dyôb! -je veux chanter ton honneur blanc.^{xciii}

Mbaye Dyôb! I want to say your name and your honor.
 Dyôb! I want to hoist your name to the tall returning mast,
 Sound your name like the bell clanging victory
 I want to praise your name Dyôbène! You who called me
 Your master [...]
 Dyôb! You may not know how to recite your lineage
 Or tame the darkness, you whose ancestors do not keep time
 To the *tama* drums. [...]
 Dyôb! - I want to praise your white honor.^{xciv}

Having granted his subject the Sereer-noble's privilege, the *guelwaar*'s privilege of a heralded genealogy,^{xcv} through an elocutionary drama of self-designation, the speaker completes this caste inversion by further prophesying for his subject the traditional honors of the warrior class: embedded within the final movement of the poem is a second ode, of a virgin chorus beyond the battlefield ("*Les vierges du Gandyol*"), singing the praises of the subject as *guelwaar*, and magnifying the voice of the self-designated *dyali* (the original speaker). The poem through an elocutionary maneuver thus progressively amplifies the drama of caste inversion through an embedded chorus, underscoring the valor of the commoner and the relative humility of the *guelwaar*-eulogist.

Senghor's elevation of the commoner and rebaptism of the noble speaker as member of an orator caste moves to the extremes of egalitarianism and assumes semi-messianic proportions in his poem "*À l'appel de la race de Saba*" (written in the wake of the Italian invasion of Abyssinia, and identifying among the axis powers a common enemy to "France" and the "race of Sheba"). Presenting a battlefield scene, the speaker moves from reminiscence to prophecy, contrasting the

eulogy of his *guelwaar* ancestors with his own renunciation of caste in the poem's final movement. Although the poem begins with the remembrance of traditional eulogists, with a scene of his noble father "surrounded by griots and koras," the speaker in the poem's fourth stanza fashions himself into an orator that *transcends* caste, a messianic herald for the advent of egalitarian ideals, "forging his mouth" into a "trumpet of liberation."^{xcvi} It is in this self-designated role that the speaker pronounces a casteless prophecy, a "day of liberation" ("*le jour de libération*") under the banner of the Marseillaise :

*Ni maîtres désormais ni esclaves ni guelwars ni griots de griot
Rien que la lisse et virile camaraderie des combats, et que me soit égal le fils du captif,
que me soient copains le Maure et le Targui congénitalement ennemis.*^{xcvii}

From now on neither masters nor slaves, Nor *guelwars*, nor *griots* of *griot*,
Nothing but the smooth, virile camaraderie of battle, And I become the equal of the son of
slaves, and am friends now
With the Moors and the Tuaregs, lifelong enemies.^{xcviii}

The concluding stanzas of the poem further imply the speaker's caste renunciation, by comparing the stature of the speaker's father, distinguished as a warrior-athlete among rivals, with that of the speaker as a common soldier among comrades. In contrast to the speaker's father, whose nobility is sung by praise poets, and whose distinction among suitors is discerned by his bride, proclaiming her choice with a song of praise, the speaker's status becomes increasingly subsumed by a collective identity, rendering him towards the end of the poem nearly indistinguishable from his fellow soldiers. In the poem's final scene, the increasingly diffuse identity of the speaker moves him to offer his own mother the cipher to his identity on the battlefield: "Know your son by the authenticity of his gaze, which is that of his heart and of his lineage."^{xcix} This cipher plays on the ambiguity of whether these traits identify the son among soldiers, or whether they qualify the soldier as son. The implication of a filial collective (inaugurated by the title of the poem) complements the speaker's allusion to the Marseillaise

(which stands in further contrast to the songs of the griot alluded to earlier in the poem); presented in near-messianic terms, the Marseillaise becomes both a war-cry and a prophetic herald of revolutionary ideals (of equality, liberty, and fraternity): "*jaillie des cuivres de nos bouches, la Marseillaise de Valmy plus pressante que la charge d'éléphants des gros tanks que précèdent les ombres sanglantes/ La Marseillaise catholique.*"⁶ It is here that the poet again privileges speech as an emancipatory medium, presenting the French language as the bearer of revolutionary ideals, as a form of deliverance to the speaker himself.

Although Senghor's "chosen" language of composition is here poised as a messianic vessel of revolutionary values, this portrayal of the French language invites qualification by a second poem, "Ndessé," in which the "opportunity cost" (or foregone alternative) of this "choice" of a unifying and universal language is dramatized. Whereas in "À l'appel" the speaker presents the French language in emancipatory terms, the hold of the French language upon the speaker in "Ndessé" is conveyed through his linguistic alienation from (and lack of recognition by) his Sereer mother. In the second stanza of the poem, the poet deploys the perspective of the Sereer mother to contrast her eloquence with the inscrutability of her Francophone child, a soldier returning from the European warfront. In contrast to the messianic quality of the French Marseillaise in "À l'appel," the speaker's native tongue is presented as an acrolect, with French ("*paragnessés*") as basilect, as a parodied language. As presented in the speaker's voice, addressing his mother:

*Voici que je suis devant toi Mère, soldat aux manches nues
Et je suis vêtu de mots étrangers, où tes yeux ne voient qu'un assemblage de bâtons et de
haillons.
Si je pouvais parler Mère! Mais tu n'entendrais qu'un gazouillis précieux et tu
n'entendrais pas
Comme lorsque, bonnes femmes de sérères, vous déridiez le dieu aux troupeaux de
nuages
Pétaradant des coups de fusil par-dessus le cliquetis des mots paragnessés.*

*Mère, parle-moi. Ma langue glisse sur nos mots sonores et durs
Tu les sais faire doux et moelleux comme à ton fils chéri autrefois.*^{ci}

Here I am before you, Mother, a soldier with naked sleeves
And I am dressed in foreign words, where your eyes see only a bunch of twigs and tatters.
If I could speak to you, Mother! But you'd hear only my prattle and not understand
Like the time when you and other good Serer women ridiculed the god
In the herds of clouds backfiring rifle shots
Above the clicking *paragnessés* [French] words.
Mother, speak to me. My tongue slips
On our sonorous, hard words.
You know how to make them sweet and soft
As you did once before for your dear son.^{cii}

By equating the French language to a foreign vestment on a Senegalese soldier, and by equating this strange garb to a harlequin's rags, Senghor's complex metaphor presents a parallel between the French language and the soldier's uniform, and subtly depicts the French language as an *imposition of duty, a mark of humility, and a sign of coercion*.

The metaphor of the French language as the harlequin's rags, and Senghor's rare comparison of the soldier to the buffoon, resonates in a second poem in *Hosties Noires*, with the significantly redundant title "Désespoir d'un volontaire libre": it is a poem in which the independent *volition* of the Senegalese soldier (fighting for the French colonial army) is confused with the marks of humility and signs of coercion. The poem (a perspectival inversion of "Ndessé") offers the viewpoint of a French superior, looking down upon a Senegalese soldier with detached amusement and surprise: "I don't understand a thing [...]: Senegalese-- and a volunteer!" as though the two terms ("Senegalese" and "volunteer") are mutually exclusive.^{ciii} Presenting again the problem of individual volition amidst systemic coercion, the poem increasingly dresses its Senegalese subject in paradox and oxymoron: "He has been given *a servant's clothes, which he took to be/The martyr's simple garment*" [...] "And boots for his *domesticated free feet*."^{civ} Further deemed a "loyal traitor," offering his service in "paid sacrifice"

to the French cause, the subject's despair coincides with his private suspicion that he has mistaken the signs of coercion for the marks of freedom. Although these ambiguities and paradoxes drawn between *coercion* and *volition* are resolved elsewhere in Senghor's poetry, most markedly through the poetic projection and critical reinvention of the term *négritude*, this poem dramatically illustrates the contours of colonial racism, the contours of exclusion and ambiguity, that animate Senghor's most important poetic tropes: the themes of sacrifice and pardon, griotage and caste renunciation, that poignantly imagine a horizon of liberty in the midst of situational entrapment.

The inauguration of *négritude* as the reinvention of caste

Senghor's historically panoramic poem, "Que m'accompagnent kôras et balafong," presents his most powerful configuration of sacrificial motifs and conveys his first use of the term "*négritude*."

As I attempt to show: it is in this poem that one can read Senghor's inaugural use of *negritude* not only as a function of the French language, as a form of coercion, but in light of the traditional status of the bard as a socially lower caste—of the transcendence of the *bardic poet*, as the descendant of both the *slave* and the *noble born*. As one of Senghor's most religiously syncretic works, the poem is marked by an ambiguous and disorienting temporality, enabled by the conflated motifs of animist reincarnation and messianic resurrection. As the speaker moves through a succession of ancestral incarnations, the poem culminates with a sacrificial scene at the fourteenth century battle of Trubang,^{cv} a scene transforming the terms of an ancestor's capitulation and surrender into those of sacrifice, and tempering the theme of enslavement with the promise of salvation (of *négritude* later conveyed in redemptive terms). This violent culmination of the poem unfolds through an illustration of a translated Mandinka proverb

embedded in the poem's sixth stanza (*"On nous tue, Almamy! On ne nous déshonore pas."*), as the speaker (on the verge of defeat, after "sixteen years" of battle) transforms the objects of pillage and capitulation into offerings of sacrifice (with the motif of a pyre), in a final exercise of liberty:

*"On nous tue, Almamy!" Sur ce haut bûcher, j'ai jeté
Toutes mes richesses poudreuses: mes trésors d'ambre gris et de cauris
Les captifs colonnes de ma maison, les épouses mères de mes fils
Les objets du sanctuaire, les masques graves et les robes solennelles
Mon parasol mon bâton de commandement, qui est de trois kintars d'ivoire
Et ma vieille peau.^{cvi}*

"We are killed, Almamy!" Upon this high pyre, I have thrown:
All my powdery riches: my treasures of ambergris and cowries
The captives columns of my house, the wives mothers of my sons
The objects of the sanctuary, the grave masks and the solemn robes
My parasol my scepter of command, that is of three kintars of ivory
And my old skin.^{cvi}

The speaker extends the trope of sacrifice by designating what is spared from the pyre, by tempering the trope of enslavement with that of salvation, of death with rebirth:

*Dormez, les héros, en ce soir accoucheur de vie, en cette nuit grave de grandeur.
Mais sauvée la Chantante, ma sève païenne qui monte et qui piaffe et qui danse
Mes deux filles aux chevilles délicates, les princesses cerclées de lourds bracelets de
peine
Comme des paysannes. Des paysans les escortent pour être leurs seigneurs et leurs
sujets [...]^{cvi}*

Sleep, my heroes, this night brings forth light, in this night grave with grandeur
But saved is the Voice [la Chantante], my pagan sap that mounts and stomps and dances
My two daughters of delicate ankles, the princesses circled with heavy bracelets of woe
Like peasants. Peasants escort them to be their masters and their subjects [...]^{cix}

The poignancy of this final image of the speaker's spared but captive daughters, and the threat of their imminent rape, later resonates when the term "*chantant*" is again employed: "*Et comme d'une femme, l'abandonnement ravie à la grande force cosmique, à l'Amour qui meut les mondes chantants.*"^{cix} It is a motif in which (through a strange grammatical contortion) the poet projects or imagines a space for volition in a situation of ultimate entrapment, as a woman on the point of

ravishment chooses to surrender herself (to "abandon" herself) to an overwhelming force.^{cxi}

In the wake of this trope, of the *rape of an ancestral war captive*, the poem moves through a strange temporality, through which historical regression corresponds to a vision of restoration: by advancing through an inverse historical chronology (by progressing through scenes of violent decline to an antecedent, foundational moment of African empire), the poem effectively enacts an hermeneutic illusion to conflate historic and prophetic time. This is enabled, however, through the recurrent and self-reflexive reference to *the poet's voice*—to what had been "spared" from that ancestral pyre during the wars of Trubang, the voice carried in the blood: "But saved is the Voice [*la Chantante*], my pagan sap that mounts and stomps and dances." The implied contrast between the poet's voice, as one among the immaterial, "authentic" riches (carried in the blood and the voice) and the "powdery," destructible marks of noble status (added to and destroyed within the pyre) introduces the notion of redemptive egalitarianism into the poem *carried through the poet's own speech*. Here the poet naturalizes the unity of lineage and orature elsewhere resolved in Senghor's poetry through the conceit of the *guelwaar* (birthright warrior) turned *griot*.

The motifs of the "voice" (a power conveyed in blood) and the "muted trumpet" are borne through the promise of salvation beyond enslavement, underscored through the poem's concluding stanza:

*Mais s'il faut choisir à l'heure de l'épreuve^{cxii}
J'ai choisi le verset des fleuves, des vents et des forêts
L'assonance des plaines et des rivières, choisi le rythme de sang de mon corps dépouillé
Choisi la trémulsion des balafongs et l'accord des cordes et des cuivres qui semble faux,
choisi le
Swing le swing oui le swing!
Et la lointaine trompette bouchée, comme une plainte de nébuleuse en dérive dans la nuit
Comme l'appel du Jugement, trompette éclante sur les charniers neigeux d'Europe
J'ai choisi mon peuple noir peinant, mon peuple paysan, toute la race paysanne par le
monde.*

*"Et tes frères sont irrités contre toi, ils t'ont mis à bêcher la terre."
Pour être ta trompette!^{cxiii}*

But if one must choose in the final hour
I have chosen the verse of the rivers, of winds and of forests
The assonance of the plains and [the coasts], chosen the rhythm of blood in my fleeced
body
Chosen the tremor of the *balafongs*, the harmony of strings and brass that seem false,
chosen the
Swing the swing yes the swing!
And the distant muted trumpet, like a nebulous cry of mourning in the night
Like the call to Judgment, thunderous] trumpet upon the snowy graves of Europe's
slaughter
I have chosen my black toiling people, my peasant people, all the world's peasant race.
"And your brothers are angered by you, they have made you till the soil"
To be your trumpet!^{cxiv}

With its reference to the biblical curse of Canaan (an historical apology for slavery), the stanza foreshadows later climactic scenes of enslavement and sacrifice, and underscores the poem's central conceit around which these scenes revolve: the problem of "forced choice" ("*s'il faut choisir*"-- "if one *must* choose"), the insistence upon transcendence amidst coercion. The parallel repetition of the term "choice" further underscores the importance of the speaker's self-designation as an instrument of transcendence-- an intercession that recasts the terms of capitulation (and enslavement) into those of sacrifice and ultimate salvation, and projects these conceits (of volition and coercion) onto the level of elocution.

And it is in this light that the poet's first use of *négritude* as a redemptive, transcendent unity should be read. Embedded in a eulogy to the African night (as the medium of mystical revelation), in a stanza pregnant with anticipation for a prophesied day of divine judgment, the term *négritude* is here portrayed as a form of deliverance to the speaker himself:

*Nuit qui fonde toutes mes contradictions, toutes contradictions dans l'unité
première de ta négritude./Reçois l'enfant toujours enfant que douze ans
d'errances n'ont pas vieilli.*

Night that melts all of my contradictions, all contradictions in the primal unity

of your *négritude*,/ Receive the child ever the child that twelve years of
wandering have not aged.^{cxv}

As used here, the term “*négritude*” may on a first order of interpretation be considered by readers of the poem to be merely descriptive, virtually interchangeable with “blackness”; but there is a way that this *négritude* (despite its racial contours) can also be read palimpsestically as a form of deliverance for the vernacular bard as the member of a *subject caste*—and of the African francophone poet as the descendent of a traditionally subordinate bardic caste.

These readings collectively underscore the importance of an axis of inclusion in Senghor's poetry, for the conceit of divine pardon and the drama of caste renunciation are ultimately inclusive acts that exist as poetic responses to the exclusionary contours prejudice—both colonial and continental. These gestures are enabled by or coupled with a self-conscious elocution that inscribes the poetry in both biblical tradition and pre-christian, ritual oratory, with the self-nomination of the speaker as designate of sacrifice and pardon, and with the rebaptism of the speaker as the member of a noble orator class: a noble *griot*—a “contradictory unity” (to cite the preceding poem). Given that *négritude* (beyond its characteristic use within a eulogistic register) was also poetically borne as a resolution to contradiction, its employment (as evident in Senghor's poetry and linguistic politics) conceptually transforms an exclusionary axis into an inclusive one, and was designed to translate the terms of disenfranchisement into those of an ultimate empowerment—not only in his election of the French as a *choice*, but in his re-definition of the *djèli* and *guéwél* as a caste of *transcendence*.

As this reading suggests, the principal conceits in the poetic inauguration of *négritude* (in Senghor's poetry) are not those of absolute volition, but of coercion reconfigured. Far from presenting a thief who “steals” the language he speaks (a key trope in “Black Orpheus,” Sartre's introduction to Senghor's 1948 *Anthologie de la nouvelle poésie nègre et malgache*), the self-

reflexive register manipulated in Senghor's poetry offers a poetics of linguistic choice in vitally different terms (where the poetic birth of Senghor's *négritude* corresponds to a sacrificial act—a transcendence of caste hierarchies *that Senghor's poetry elsewhere does not fully translate into French*).

Senghor is often criticized for being excessively laudatory or eulogistic of an African past. But I argue that, if one reads closely Senghor's inaugural use of the term *négritude*, in light of his self-reflexive rebaptism of the African oral poet as a *noble griot*, or *noble bard*, the transcendence that Senghor grants to *négritude* is not just a function of *French language use*, but also a transcendence of the (less than picturesque) class hierarchies through which the West African bard traditionally *speaks*.

If one re-reads Senghor's inaugural poem on *négritude*, it is clearly born of a poignant and profoundly nuanced sense of African history, of the poet's legacy borne from the violence of Africans to Africans. Far from merely "speaking back" *in French* to the *French*, in other words, the terms of vernacular orature in which Senghor speaks suggests that his choice of French not only tempers racial hierarchies across the African-European divide, but also redefines caste divisions separating and subordinating the *African* poet from his *African* audience (in a dynamic of eulogistic, vernacular orature inherited by both Senghor and his *African* public). The concept of *négritude* can be read as a form of double transcendence: as the reinterpretation of French as a textual imposition, but also as beyond vernacular conventions of oral poetry, beyond a traditional understanding of bardic speech as a sign of subordination. In this respect, self-reflexive aspects of Senghor's poetry reinterpret the caste system that subtends vernacular orature in Senegal, according to which a bard is, by *birth*, conventionally subordinate to those he praises (the noble born or the free born—the uncasted).^{cxvi}

Given that *négritude* was first borne as a resolution to contradiction, its employment (as evident in Senghor's poetry and linguistic politics) conceptually transforms an exclusionary axis into an inclusive one, and was designed to translate the terms of disenfranchisement into those of empowerment—as a linguistically palimpsestic form of transcendence. To complete this reading on the juncture between Senghor's poetics and politics of linguistic choice (between the literary and political fields joined in metalingual rather than directly referential terms), I consider the transposition of *négritude* to the political field for the remainder of the chapter, and examine how it fares on the frontlines of linguistic competition within Senegal.

The limits of the universal: the decline of *Francophonie* & the rise of Wolof

When assessing Senghor's linguistic politics, given the breadth of evidence from his career as a poet, critic, and policy-maker from the 1930s through 1980, it is essential to observe his changes in emphasis and the historical evolution of his rhetoric. This evolution (at times read as inconsistency) forms the basis of controversies about his language politics, as highlighted by the oppositional work of a second generation of postcolonial Senegalese writers, such as Seex Alioune Ndaw (one of Senegal's most prominent contemporary writers in Wolof, whose poems parody Senghor's political slogans) and Ousmane Sembene, the communist Senegalese activist, filmmaker, and author (whose historical narratives and portrayal of Senghor are examined later in the following chapter). I would nonetheless argue that, by tracing the evolution of Senghor's rhetoric on language politics alongside more generalizable claims on the "network power" of dominant standards, one can see the logic (and a certain consistency) behind this evolution. Moving from an aggressive, early defense of African languages and the necessity of bilingualism, to an increasing emphasis on the intrinsic value of the French language as a vessel of *négritude* (and its defense against Anglophone ascendancy), Senghor's evolving rhetoric and

politics on language choice demonstrate the ambiguity of his position as a decisive agent of authority, who is nonetheless subject to coercive pressures “structured through social relations outside the formal politics of sovereignty.”^{cxvii}

Senghor’s early writings on linguistic choice (and language politics), while emphasizing the necessity of bilingualism in Senegal, aggressively advocate for the “*defense*” of local, sub-Saharan African languages. His arguments in favor of bilingualism, in an early public address dating from 1937, generally portray the French language as an aggression, as an inescapable imposition, in light of which marginalized local languages must be revalued and transcribed. In this early text, it is evident that Senghor’s conception of “bilingualism” limits the position of French to a requisite pedagogical medium for the accession of imported European “sciences,” while African languages remain irreplaceable reflections of a local context, and are thus irreplaceable *artistic* media. By his early prescription, “une *expression intégrale* du Nègre Nouveau” should be mediated through “*les ouvrages scientifiques, parmi d’autres, [qui] seraient écrits en Français*” [scientific works, among others, would be written in French] while “*on se servirait de la langue indigène dans les genres littéraires qui expriment le génie de la race: poésie, théâtre, conte*” [we would make use of the indigenous language in the literary genres that express the genius of the race: poetry, theater, the literary tale].^{cxviii} Illustrating his early position that “indigenous literature” must by necessity be written in “indigenous languages,” he claims:

Les intellectuels ont mission de restaurer les valeurs noires dans leur vérité et leur excellence, d’éveiller leur peuple au goût du pain et des jeux de l’esprit, par quoi nous sommes Hommes. Par les Lettres surtout. Il n’y a pas de civilisation sans une littérature qui en exprime et illustre les valeurs, comme le bijoutier les bijoux d’une couronne. Et sans littérature écrite, pas de civilisation qui aille au delà de la simple curiosité ethnographique. Or comment concevoir une littérature indigène qui ne serait pas écrite dans une langue indigène? [...] Il y a une certaine saveur, une certaine odeur, un certain accent, un certain timbre noir inexprimable à des instruments européens.^{cxix}

Intellectuals have a mission to restore *black values* in their truth and excellence, to awaken their people to the taste of bread and the games of the spirit, by which we are *Men*. By writing, above all. There is no civilization without a literature that expresses it, and that illustrates its values, as for the jeweler the crown jewels. And without a written literature, there is no civilization that moves beyond a simple, ethnographic curiosity. For, how is it possible to conceive of an indigenous literature that is not written in an indigenous language? [...] There is a certain taste, a certain odor, a certain accent, a certain black timbre that is inexpressible with European instruments.^{cxx}

Ignoring, for the moment, Senghor's suggestion that a civilization without writing is tantamount to a "simple ethnographic curiosity," his early political stance on the relationship between African languages and French demonstrates a *defensive posture* with regard to the former, reinforcing the notion that "the relations between negro-african languages and French essentially translate into *relations of force*."^{cxxi} In his 1937 speech, Senghor launches a preemptive defense of African literature written in African languages, stating: "It will be objected to me that indigenous languages are neither sufficiently rich nor sufficiently beautiful. I could respond that it is scarcely of importance, that they need simply be handled and fixed by writers of talent."^{cxxii} His position, in this respect reinforces his early comparative work in linguistics, through which he emphasizes the historical, linguistic evolution of Sereer and Wolof, and highlights an internal linguistic order and coherence where others refer to "license," "affectation," and simplistic reflections of an "indigenous mentality." Re-emphasizing that it is not the linguistic medium that is wanting, but rather the advent of local poets, Senghor states: "I will say again that linguists have a penchant for citing languages like Malinke for their prodigious faculty of verbal invention. No, it is not the instruments that are lacking; I await simply the talents for their cultivation."^{cxxiii} It is in this light that his early calls for "bicephalism" and bilingualism-- "*assimiler, ne pas être assimilé*"-- should be read: in the "glottophagic" battles of colonialism, Africans must "assimilate" the French language, while maintaining their linguistic

distinctiveness, their *right to differ*.

In contrast to his initial, aggressive defense of *African literature written in African languages*, Senghor's later writing increasingly promotes *French translations or transcriptions of African writing*, a revisionist posture that depends for its success on the "dialectics" of *négritude*. "What progress!" he writes, in an article dating from 1950, "The arms of domination, instruments of liberation! These were my thoughts upon reading, yesterday, the tales of Birago Diop, in which the phrase combines, so felicitously, the green sobriety of Wolof with the levity of French."^{cxix} In light of the ascendancy of Francophone writing, in light of the unequal terms of literary production in French and African languages, the concept of *négritude* is increasingly deployed to minimize the "opportunity cost" of linguistic choice, i.e., to minimize the perceived loss of a foregone alternative in native languages. It is in this light that *the dialectics of négritude*, as a defense of *cultural translatability* should be read: *négritude* as a dialectical concept, as an ideology, implicitly depends for its sustenance on the notion of linguistic complementarity (as opposed to competition) between French and native languages, and on the translatability or transposability of *négritude* to French. It exists to suggest that the election of Francophonie corresponds to a process of cultural preservation rather than loss. And yet, a close analysis of Senghor's writing on language politics reveals an inconsistency, as his rhetoric vacillates between linguistic "concurrence" or contention, and linguistic complementarity, revealing the paradox of "freely choosing" between unequal terms (or the paradox of a partially coerced choice).

Later writings by Senghor on French and African cultural dialectics correspond to his increasing defense of African literatures written in French-- a literary experiment through which the French language can be seen "to translate and express, without betraying them, the most

authentic negro-african values” [*traduire et exprimer, sans les trahir, les valeurs négro-africaines les plus authentiques*].^{cxxv} Defending the trend towards transcription in French, he writes of the inherent value of the French language as a literary vessel, and its integrity as an expression of an authentically local landscape:

[L]e vocabulaire n'épuise pas les vertus du français. La stylistique, en particulier, est occasion de pêches miraculeuses. Pour en revenir à la musique des mots, le français offre une variété de timbres dont on peut tirer tous les effets: de la douceur des Alizés, la nuit, sur les hautes palmes, à la violence fulgurante de la foudre sur les têtes des baobabs. Il n'y a pas jusqu'aux rythmes du français qui n'offrent des ressources insoupçonnées. Au demeurant, le rythme binaire du vers classique peut rendre le halètement despotique du tam-tam. Il suffit de le bousculer légèrement pour faire surgir, au-dessus du rythme de base, contretemps et syncopes.^{cxxvi}

Vocabulary [lexical richness] does not exhaust the virtues of French. Stylistics, in particular, give rise to miraculous returns. To reconsider the musicality of words, French offers a variety of timbres through which one can draw every effect: from the softness of the Western trade winds, at night, upon the high palms, to the brilliant violence of lightning upon the crest of baobab trees. And even the rhythms of the French language offer surprising resources. For the binary rhythm of classical verse, moreover, can convey the despotic panting of the tam-tam [drums]. It suffices to lightly push it to make resurgent, beneath its basic rhythm, counter-tempo and syncopation.

He effectively defends this possibility of poetic “synthesis” by characterizing the French language as an intrinsic, dialectical complement to *négritude* (conceived as the “sum of African cultural values”): “[l]es valeurs latines, françaises, cartésiennes sont précisément à l’opposé des valeurs négro-africaines. De là leur vertu.”^{cxxvii} It is in this light that Senghor’s writing, in praise of syncretism, of *métissage*, characterizes “French” and “négritude” not according to antagonistic relations of force, but rather in dialectical terms, with Francophone African writing poised as a utopian synthesis of two otherwise “opposing” terms. In contrast to his earlier and more antagonistic writings (on anti-assimilationism and linguistic distinctiveness), he claims:

Notre vocation de colonisés est de surmonter les contradictions de la conjoncture, l’antinomie artificiellement dressée entre l’Afrique et l’Europe, notre hérité et

notre éducation. C'est de la greffe de celle-ci sur celle-là que doit naître notre liberté, du Métis, qui choisit, où il veut, ce qu'il veut pour faire, des éléments réconciliés, une œuvre exquise et forte.^{cxxviii}

Our vocation as the colonized is to transcend the contradictions of circumstance, the antinomy artificially erected between Africa and Europe, our heritage and our education. It is from the grafting of one upon the other that our liberty must be born, [our liberty] as a *Cross-breed* who *chooses*, wherever he wants, what he wants of reconciled elements to make a strong and exquisite work.^{cxxix}

Although these citations are poised to assert the liberty of a linguistic choice, his terms reveal the traces of coercion in his assertion of liberty. They also suggest a vacillation in his approach; the paradox of an “unfree choice” reveals itself in the ambiguities of his representation of linguistic coexistence, as he variably frames the relations between “French” and its alternatives in terms of “concurrence” and “complementarity.” Senghor’s dialectical writings, in this respect, help to “disarm” the French language, by recasting French as a *superior instrument* in the portrayal of *négritude*, instead of as the only term of an unfree (or partially free) choice.

Language Choice and “Deteriorating Terms of Exchange”

On the eve of Senegalese independence, in a critical historical moment for the linguistic projection of political frontiers, Senghor tellingly expresses the paradox of exercising *liberty* or *freedom of choice* when the choice involves standards of social exchange-- whether economic or linguistic. Noting the tension inherent in his stated goal of “independence without isolation,” it is interesting to observe a correlation between Senghor’s rhetoric on linguistic choice and on economic politics. In this respect, Senghor’s declarations reinforce the problem of defining “liberty,” or “freedom of choice” where power (or coercive pressure) “operates through social structures rather than as the express will of a well-defined agent.”^{cxxx} (As Singh Grewal notes, “market activity and linguistic evolution are paradigmatic instances of the construction of a

collective outcome via relations of sociability”; just as it is impossible to sustain a private currency (a private standard of economic exchange), it is impossible to sustain a private language (a private standard of linguistic exchange) (ibid.). It is in this light that Senghor declares, “real independence is first the independence of the mind, the freedom of choice,”^{cxxxix} while admitting that “independence in isolation is not possible without a mortal danger,”^{cxxxii} and “independence in fragmentation is not a real independence.”^{cxxxiii} Senghor’s emphasis, on the eve of independence, on the tension between social isolation and freedom of choice reveals his recognition that the choice of a dominant standard of social exchange becomes increasingly coerced-- approaches a situation of entrapment, whereby “the only options are to join it or face social isolation.”^{cxxxiv} Claiming that his aim is to achieve “independence in unity and not in isolation,”^{cxxxv} Senghor defends his logic by suggesting that independence has less to do with the “freedom of choice” than with the potential for self- sustenance: “What is independence? The possibility to choose, certainly, but it is above all the possibility to elevate the level of culture and the quality of life for the masses.”^{cxxxvi}

Against the threat of the dissolution of French West Africa, the “balkanization” of the region, Senghor advances a politics of linguistic and monetary convergence to compensate for Dakar’s lost political leverage, to ensure Senegal’s sustained status within a regional market (following a logic of economic and linguistic integration comparable to the *mise en valeur* politics practiced by the colonial administration in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century). It is in this light that Senghor increasingly develops the notion of Francophonie as a democratically representative language, as a language of cultural pluralism in the region (or, to use Senghor’s term, a “universal” language, for a “civilization of the universal,” “the ultimate civilization, which incorporates the special and unique aspects of all cultures.”^{cxxxvii} As Mortimer

suggests, Senghor's increasing political promotion and emphasis on Francophonie coincides with the failure of transcontinental federalism between France and her West African colonies, marked by the 1957 passage of the *loi cadre* that grants greater autonomy to the constituent States of the AOF, and ends Senegal's privileged status as the capitol seat of French West Africa.^{cxxxviii} After nominal Senegalese independence (as Markovitz observes), Senghor's linguistic politics on Francophonie and *négritude* becomes conscripted into an increasingly pragmatic, ideological support for the promotion of his economic policies. (Markovitz also contends that this transition is particularly marked after Senghor assumes control over the nation's economic policies after the suspected 1963 coup –an event which Vaillant contends occurs at the behest the French government, in a bid to eliminate Senghor's socialist-leaning (anti-French) economic minister, Dia from power.)

Senghor after independence increasingly reframes the international project of Francophonie as one of representative polyglottism (returning, perhaps, to his early emphasis on the “right to differ” linguistically (“droit à la difference”).^{cxxxix} Senghor, in this way, argues that one of the virtues of the French language is its representativeness, its position as a sanctuary for the displaced languages of former colonies. As Senghor states: “Francophonie still continues to be the defense and illustration of the French; it is also, thanks to the qualities of the French language and the assistance of great francophone countries, the defense and illustration of other languages and civilizations of the ensemble.”^{cxli} “At once a language of alienation and a language of liberation for numerous peoples,” he writes, “French must, at present, play an important role in the diffusion of Third-World cultures, in the research of new relations between national cultures and endogenous developments, between socio-cultural and economic developments.”^{cxli} It is in this capacity of a French monolingualism in service of African

plurilingualism that Francophonie is deemed to defend its African alternatives (or complements) against more potent contenders. It is also through these relations that African speakers of French will fortify the language against an ascendant English: “It is in this spirit that French, the pioneering element or bearer of plurilingualism rather than the nervous rival of a dominant English, can present itself to the eyes of the world as a language of the future.”^{cxlii}

Towards the end of his political career, Senghor’s association of linguistic and economic disempowerment is recurrently seen in his tirade against Senegal’s deteriorating, international terms of trade, “*la détérioration des termes de l’échange*” [the deterioration of terms of exchange] (a problem which he considers to be “*le plus grand problème du xxe siècle*,” and a trend “*qui a remplacé le ‘Pacte colonial’*” [that has replaced the “Colonial Pact”]).^{cxliii} Referring not only to Senegal’s deteriorating terms of trade (in the international economy), but to “*la ‘dimension culturelle’ de la crise actuelle*” [of deteriorating terms of trade],” Senghor laments (in a final speech on “unequal exchange” in the last year of his political career) the necessity to respect within a “Francophone unity” the *right to differ*,^{cxliv} while emphasizing Francophonie as a prerequisite to Senegal’s improved leverage in international markets.

By analyzing Senghor’s articles and speeches as a political figure and linguistic policy-maker, however, it becomes clear that, although he *defends* the French language against the ascendancy of English (consciously censuring the use of anglicisms in public discourse, and inventing French neologisms to displace them), he increasingly includes Wolof proverbs and terms in his public address. What might be made of this contradictory stance on the Franco-African linguistic rapport and the Anglo-French one, where the former is characterized as a utopian “synthesis” and the latter an ongoing rivalry? Despite Senghor’s representation of English as a substitute to Francophonie and his (paradoxical) portrayal of local languages as a

natural complement to French, this public interference—of both English and Wolof terms—suggests an increasing international and intra-national challenge to Senghor’s linguistic investment in Francophonie, with implications for the utility of *négritude* as a concept. A final evaluation or assessment of the *négritude*-francophone dialectic in this regard suggests that the failure of Senghor’s utopian vision (of the ultimate complementarity between *négritude* and Francophonie) lies in his prophecy of a conclusive, static state or linguistic endpoint in a “dialectical” framework. Like the paradox of Marxist writings on the dialectical progression of history, Senghor’s dialectics of *négritude* fall into a comparable fallacy, by prophesying an ultimate synthesis rather than a dialectical continuity that more fully accounts for both synthetic precedents and a continuing, linguistic evolution. A final implication of his speech patterns in Wolof suggests: given that Senghor, in his public address, tends to *choose terms in Wolof* more often than in his native Sereer, or in alternative local languages (such as Diola, Mandinke, Pulaar), this implies that Wolof (the *de facto* vernacular language of a Senegalese majority) might have been an effective alternative to the (“inevitable”) French language (as an official political medium).

Senghor increasingly embeds Wolof in public address, in order to align his politics with a local sense of value. If *négritude* depends for its success on the integrity of translation, patterns of increasing bilingualism in Senghor’s public address in Senegal (reinforced perhaps by increasing patterns of bilingualism within his poetry) suggest not only the presence of an intra-national challenge to Francophonie, but also the potential limits of the translatability upon which the concept (for Senghor) is critically founded. A citation from Senghor himself reveals how the poet-politician uses bilingual patterns to align a political message with a sense of public vice or virtue (in a trend matched by the diglossic patterns of eulogy and lamentation in his poetry):

Dans les grands événements de la vie [...], plus exactement, dans les moments essentiels- la joie et la tristesse, l'ironie, la colère, la haine, la tendresse-, c'est dans la langue maternelle qu'on s'exprime le plus volontiers en exprimant les valeurs essentielles de la nation comme de l'ethnie.^{cxlv}

In life's great events, or more precisely, in its essential moments- of joy and sadness, irony, anger, hate, and sadness-, it is in the maternal language that we express ourselves most willingly, in expressing the essential values of the nation as an ethnicity.^{cxlvi}

In keeping with this formulation, on the expression of extreme values (or visceral states) that eschew translation (from the mother tongue), Senghor's patterns of public address reveal his increasing tendency to revert to local African languages-- particularly Wolof--in order to align his policy positions with a local sense of public value; in this respect, he tends to employ Wolof proverbs and local turns of phrase in defensive response to public criticisms, in reference to his political opposition, and in eulogistic speeches to promote civic virtue.

Beyond Senghor's characteristic allusion to traditional musical accompaniment, and beyond reference to native flora, fauna, and locales (Cf. Kesteloot), his patterns of foreign language inclusion generally fall to: Wolof poems excerpted as prologues to inaugurate his subject (a circumcision poem in "*Chant de l'initié*," and a eulogy in "*Que m'accompagnent*"), vocative interjections of lamentation (*woi*) and joy (*wai*) characteristic of polyvocal Sereer poetry (in "*Élégie pour Aynina Fall*" and "*Chaka*," for example),^{cxlvii} and, in a rare example, an entire line of Pulaar in his "*Chant pour Jackie Thompson*." In this last example, in a rare moment of inscrutability to the Francophone reader who otherwise enjoys translations embedded in the text, the poet inverts a known Pulaar expression of stinginess ("*Pulel sippo soko haraani*," meaning: "The Fulani girl has sold her wares, but she is not satisfied") into one of generosity ("*Pulel hokku soko haraani*," meaning: "The little Fulani girl has given without being satisfied." i.e., she gives without satisfying herself).^{cxlviii} Perhaps the strongest parallel between Senghor's

language use patterns in public rhetoric and poetry, however, might be found in “*Teddungal*,” a poem invoking the unrivaled power of the native tongue to revive and restore, the power of the local designation of virtue to resurrect from death and sloth:

*Et contre les portes bronze je profèrai le mot explosif teddungal!
Teddungal ngal du Fouta-Damga au Cap-Vert. Ce fut un grand déchirement des
apparences, et les hommes restitués à leur noblesse, les choses à leur vérité.^{cxlix}*

And against the bronze doors, I shouted the explosive word: *Teddungal*!
Teddungal ngal from Futa-Damga to Cape Verde.
All appearances were stripped, and men regained nobility,
And essence returned to things.^{cl}

As another rare poem in which a translation into French is *not* embedded in the text, the inclusion of *Teddungal* mystifies the transformative power of the language to a foreign reader, while encoding—perhaps limiting—the transformation itself to the community that understands: *Teddungal* is the Pulaar word for *honor*.

Consistent with this observation, on the native tongue as an untranslatable medium for the expression of honor and condescension, Senghor tends in critical moments of presidential speech to refer to his opponents and allies in visceral, vernacular terms of vice and virtue. Of students who participate in university strikes to oppose government policies, he declares: “It is easy for the Senegalese to understand that a student costs us half a million francs CFA annually, and that the State is incapable of tolerating a student who loses a year to such *caxaan* [follies] as a strike.”^{cli} In another instance, he describes the writer of a critical report from *Jeune Afrique* as “*très tiakhane*” [variation of *caxaan*].^{clii} In a third, exemplary response to his to opposition, he translates the latin aphorism “*errare humanum est, perseverare autem diabolicum*” with the pivotal term in Wolof: “It is human to commit errors but *tiakhane* to persevere.”^{cliii} In a final example, he claims, of his regular review of the news: “I never forget the journals of the Opposition. However I task myself, upon reading them, with sifting the wheat from the

khakham, that is to say, distinguishing pertinent arguments from mere politicking.”^{cliv} In another speech, he refers to “mercenaries of the pen” who have a poor understanding of “the senegalese *jom*, the understanding that we have of our dignity.”^{clv} And, in a formula common to his eulogistic speeches—most often addressed to military personnel—he employs a trinity of “local virtues,” hailing the public embodiment of “*Jom*,” “*Kersa*” and “*Muñ*,” roughly translated as: self-respect, deference, and perseverance.^{clvi} A final pattern illustrating the increasing “wolofization” of Senghor’s public address can be seen in his gradual replacement of French formulas for the conclusion of his speeches (*Vive la France! Vive le Sénégal! Vive la Nation!*)^{clvii} with the Wolof “*Déwëñati!*” [May we celebrate again next year!]^{clviii} It is with this final formula that he uniformly concludes his local resignation speeches prior to leaving office.

Senghor’s employment of African language in his poetry has proved an issue of considerable controversy, with critics generally claiming it as either a superficial inclusion (Armah), or as the successful translation of an oral tradition to the literary text (Ba, Pallister).^{clix} By comparing his political speech patterns to his poetry, however, it becomes clear that an increasing use of African language terms evolves with his poetry (as confirmed by his translators Clive and Wake)—a trend that parallels the increasing incursion of native language terms in his public speeches.^{clx}

Conclusion:

Among Senghor’s most ardent opponents on Senegalese language policy (and a frequent supporter of strikes during Senghor’s presidency) was Ousmane Sembene, the filmmaker, author, and linguistic activist treated in the following chapter. Although both authors can be seen to fixate on the question of language as democratically representative, where Senghor projected

Francophonie as an egalitarian measure for a trans-continental federalism (between the AOF and the French metropole), Sembene recurrently considers the local, exclusionary contours of this decision, and treats the problem of language and democratic representation in far more circumscribed terms: as a *Senegalese* problem, with Wolof literacy as the solution to unequal, linguistically determined lines of access to power and local privilege.

In reading Senghor's poetic choice of French as the singular dignification of a colonial acrolect, however, Sembene and other critics of Senghor have nonetheless overlooked Senghor's poetic redefinition of bardic subordination, of the caste hierarchies that subtend a vernacular tradition of oral poetry. Senghor might, in this regard, be seen to share Sembene's egalitarianism—only through different literary forms and linguistic contours: both seek to redefine literature as a genre beyond caste.

As I have tried to demonstrate, to read Senghor's inaugural understanding of *négritude* as a form of transcendence, as bound only to the transient experience of French colonialism, and as only relevant to a French audience, would therefore be an under-reading. His poignant sense of the legacy of African oral poetics, a legacy which he inherits and brings to French, remains *untranslated* in French, suggesting its primary designation for an African audience: the *djeli*, *griot*, and *guéwél*. It is also in this sense that *négritude* deserves to be read as a form of transcendence—not only as a complement to French, but also as a way through which the French language was used by Senghor as an appropriated instrument, to reinterpret and transcend the hierarchies inherited from within an African vernacular poetics.

Transcribing vernaculars, abandoning transcription:
Sembene's language politics and the problem of genre

Introduction:

Ousmane Sembene, one of Senghor's most outspoken critics on language politics in Senegal, is widely considered to be an unrivaled pioneer of African cinema, as the first black, sub-Saharan African to direct a full-length feature film. Much of the literature on Sembene, however, overlooks the relationship between his shift to vernacular language cinema and his pioneering role as a print-activist in Senegal. His position as a founder of the vernacular language press in Senegal—like his pioneering cinematic work—was a function of his oppositional language politics. Nearly a decade prior to state-sponsored efforts for standardizing the transcription of Wolof, Sembene participated in the compilation of a Wolof language syllabary (*Ijjib Volof*), in an effort to establish a romanized print-standard for the language spoken by the majority of Senegalese.^{clxi} Of perhaps greater impact, however, was Sembene's role in 1971 for founding the *first vernacular language journal* in Senegal, the journal *Kaddu*. As remembered by Seydou Nourou Ndiaye, the owner of the publishing house (Patron des Éditions Papyrus) that printed *Kaddu*, "People forget that the first journal, *Kaddu*, devoted to national languages was launched in the 1970s by [the linguist] Pathé Diagne [and by] Ousmane Sembène [...]."^{clxii} Ndiaye further explains that the motive behind the journal was to demonstrate the possibility of launching a foundational print-media in local languages, beyond the use of *French*.

Sembene left Senegal for Marseilles, France, as an illegal dock worker in the late 1940s, before becoming involved in the leftist labor movement, and writing socialist-realist prose-works in French. After being trained in filmmaking in Moscow in the early 1960s, Sembene began to

increasingly make films in vernacular African languages. Like Senghor—but with diametrically opposed language politics—Sembene is widely thought to translate into his chosen literary medium an oral, vernacular poetics, conceiving of his film-activism, in the face of widespread vernacular language illiteracy, as an “*école de soir*,” a night school for the masses. It is clear that Sembene’s films (and oral poetics of the cinema) can also be viewed, in light of his print-activism and in light of the regional script displacement treated in the preceding chapters, through an inter-generational crisis of vernacular language transcription in Senegal.

It is not only for the purposes of comparative study on the vicissitudes of linguistic politics and poetics within Senegal that Ousmane Sembene offers an optimal choice for close reading; Sembene’s work forms a compelling contrast with the leftist Pramoedya Ananta Toer in Indonesia, on the common ideological motives and transnational influences that inform their writing, their historicism, and their print-activism. If Senghor’s historical promotion of *Francophonie* corresponds with the goal of transcontinental egalitarianism (in response to French colonial policies of assimilation and the failures of French West African Federalism), Sembene’s linguistic politics draws attention to the parochialism and to the opportunity cost^{clxiii} of both French and Arabic as purported vessels of “universal” value. As evident in the general body of his work, but particularly in his novel *Le Dernier de l'Empire* and his film *Ceddo*, Sembene challenges the local status of the French and Arabic languages as mediums of divine or national salvation, asserting the transience and foreignness of both languages through his historical fiction and films. (It should perhaps be mentioned that, although a parodied version of Senghor appears in *Le Dernier de l'Empire*, an as yet unseen characterization of Ahmadou Bamba features in Sembene’s last, unfinished film, *Samoory*.)

By complementing my analysis on the politics and poetics of linguistic choice in the

works of Amadu Bamba (in Arabic) and Senghor (in French) with an interpretation of Ousmane Sembene's work, I develop a palimpsestic reading that considers how the traces of foregone linguistic alternatives are nonetheless sustained in individual texts and in the fissures of Senegalese literary history. If my reading of Bamba considers his poetry in context of the French colonial displacement and manipulation of Arabic within the public sphere, and if my reading of Senghor's work (written in the wake of this displacement) considers Senghor's poetic and political reconfiguration of French as a linguistic imposition, Sembene's fictional re-narrations of Senegalese history present a foreshortened reading of these linguistic vicissitudes, while offering a counter-prescription (Wolof), embedded in the diglossic patterns of Sembene's written work. The following "palimpsestic" reading of Sembene's work, in other words, not only considers its synchronic value, by examining how the linguistic texture of his work depends on diglossic or bilingual narrative patterns, it also considers its diachronic value, considering the text itself as a historical event (to use McClintock's phrase).

It cannot go unremarked, at this juncture, that an early analysis of Sembene's work by the Marxist, literary critic Frederic Jameson launched a landmark critical debate on the common denominators of "third world literature." His general argument, based in part on his reading of Sembene's *Xala* and *Mandabi*, was that the "third world text" was necessarily legible as a national, political allegory.^{clxiv} Given that the ensuing debate on the accuracy of his claims centered less (if at all) on the justice of Jameson's readings of Sembene, and more on the designation of "third world literature" as a general category, I respond to Jameson's efforts by reconsidering how Sembene's work invites an alternative, comparative method to reading non-western texts (developed in the dissertation as a whole). In this respect, I consider how Sembene's manipulation of a metalingual register in his work reveals how linguistic relations

translate relations of force, and it is on this level that his work is richly textured and palimpsestically (if not allegorically) inviting. I offer this as a tentative model of reading that interprets the juncture between literary production to the public realm less through a referential axis than through a metalingual one (to use Jakobson's terms). It is a reading that underscores how the opportunity cost of linguistic choice, how a foregone linguistic alternative, is sutured into the work as an (at times paradoxically) elusive presence, projecting the negative contours of a foregone public upon the screen or the text. In this kind of palimpsestic reading, I hope to throw into relief the dimensions of Sembene's work that reflexively question or interrogate the selection of a compositional language at key moments of enunciation, even as that language is employed.

My use of the term "palimpsestic," as opposed to "intertextual" or simply "allusive," was based on the following logic. If "allusiveness" compares to a precedent, and "intertextuality" considers discursive relations between texts, what term can capture the intertextual or the allusion when the passage to comparison is itself a matter of switching linguistic codes? The kind of reading that I'm designating by this term is based on an allusiveness that is not merely about constructing a comparison to a precedent; palimpsestic allusiveness (by my definition) compares the present to what vacillates between a precedent and a hypothetical. I consider the term particularly useful in the following readings because this vacillation between a linguistic precedent and hypothetical characterizes the metalingual register through which allusiveness and intertextuality operate in the texts at hand. Moreover, I contend that it is this metalingual (as opposed to referential) aspect of Sembene's work through which Sembene's "satire necessarily carries a utopian frame of reference within itself" (to redirect Jameson's paraphrase of Robert C. Elliot on *The Power of Satire* and *The Shape of Utopia*).^{clxv}

The chapter begins with a close reading of bilingual patterns in Sembene's *Le Dernier de l'Empire*, Sembene's satirical novel on the final years of the Senghor regime, to inaugurate a comparative reading of their linguistic politics (at times based on Sembene's misprision of Senghor), and to introduce key themes through which I subsequently trace the “metalingual” aspect of Sembene's work, advocating the demythification of language as a precondition to the democratization of the public sphere (to underscore the exclusionary axis of Francophonie, and the violence that subtends its pretensions to universal value). I also consider (in comparison to Senghor) how Sembene conceives of his work, his historical fiction, as a way of recuperating or rereading the narrative omissions of conventional history in terms of *vernacular orature*, represented by the *gével* (the Wolof equivalent for Senghor's *mandingue dyâli*), but contrastively interpreted by Sembene in terms of linguistic choice and choice of literary genre). I conclude by more closely examining the complementarity between Sembene's literary work and his oppositional journalistic writings (written under a pen-name to avoid censorship by the Senghor regime) on the problem of linguistic choice in the public sphere in Senegal.

The "Demythification" of language: Sembene, Senghor, and *Le Dernier de l'Empire*

Sembene's *Le dernier de l'Empire* is a thinly veiled satire on the final years of Senghor's regime^{clxvi} and a novel that treats the tensions embedded in public discourse between a government informational apparatus and the free, public press. The novel begins with the sudden disappearance of the nation's founding father ("Léon Mignane") and proponent of state ideology (“authénégraficanitus”), through a mysterious coup d'état that deprives the government informational apparatus of its nucleus. The president's remaining political appointees (incapable of independent judgment) conceal this absence by regenerating public rhetoric within the

president's mold: through staged press conferences and false radio speeches, the accretions of public discourse that result reveal the emptiness of a state ideology so effectively replicated in the absence of a speaker, and dramatize the problem of succession among a faction of sycophants. This illustration of an inauthentic state ideology is ironically underscored through a shift in narrative perspective, when a newly resigned minister of justice, moving from the center of the government's informational apparatus to a peripheral position among the public masses, listens to fabricated eulogies dedicated to him and attributed to the absent president -- to speech acts that (he knows) occur in the absence of an original speaker. As the novel traces the collaborations of the former minister (Cheikh Tidiane Sall^{clxvii}) with an astute journalist ("Kad")^{clxviii} to reconstitute the truth of the president's disappearance (for the minister's memoirs), the narrative reveals that the antidote to these obscurantist, centripetal forces lies in the free press and the historian's narrative; presenting an idea that pervades Sembene's work, the novel prescribes that asymmetries of knowledge inherent in relations of authority be countered by a mediator that fills the void—in this case, the objective journalist and historian. Sembene's propos in this novel couples the exigency of political transparency with "the democratization and demythification of language" (to use Nzabutsinda's apt terms), through the complementary work of historical and journalistic narrative.^{clxix} Beginning with *Le dernier de l'Empire*, I examine how the politics and poetics of linguistic choice in Sembene's mainly historical fiction and journalistic work complement this objective of linguistic "democratization" and "demythification."

Le Dernier de l'Empire's alleged movement towards journalistic transparency and a "corrective" historical narration underscores its self-referential aspect. Sembene's own prologue and the novel's epilogue in this regard obscure and ironize the boundaries between the fictional

protagonist and his author, in order to accomplish two otherwise mutually exclusive objectives: to underscore the relevance of the fiction to historical events and political figures, but to play on the public awareness of state censorship—i.e., on the political risks of over-identifying fiction with history. In this regard, the *Prologue* and *Epilogue* of the novel form a chiasmic symmetry: at the end of the novel, Sembene's protagonist gives his memoirs the eponymous title ("Le dernier de l'Empire"), while Sembene (in the Author's Foreword) identifies his site of composition as "Galle Ceddo" (House of the Ceddo in Pulaar), evoking his protagonist's title of respect, "Joom Gallé" (Master of the House). The prologue and the epilogue not only play on the possibility of verisimilitude between historical narrative and Sembene's fiction (suggesting the role of Sembene as historian and ultimate judge), but also allude to Sembene's subjection to censorship as a media figure (whose controversial, historical film, *Ceddo*, was banned by Senghor on linguistic pretexts)^{clxx} and as a journalistic activist and founder of the first indigenous language-news publication, *Kaddu* (in which contributors published under pennames to avoid government censorship).^{clxxi}

As an author who delicately balances between the opposing pressures of public censorship and political satire, Sembene tactically embeds Wolof in his novel in order to identify the object of his criticism, to advance his satire of Senghor's ardently francophone language politics, and to "democratize" and "de-mythify" language as it is projected upon the public sphere. Sembene's first satirical employment of Wolof occurs in his preface. Without naming his subject, he parodies Senghor's (at times) grandiloquent, rhetorical style and erudite wordplay with a familiar metaphor commonly used by Senghor in his presidential speeches: "Sunugal," transforming "Senegal" into "Sunu Gaal" ("our boat" in Wolof). With this tactical embedding of Wolof in his prologue, Sembene inscribes within his very claim to the novel's fictionality

counterevidence to this claim:

Ce present ouvrage ne veut être pris pour autre chose qu'un travail d'imagination. Notre cher et beau pays n'a fécondé, façonné, que des femmes et des hommes dignes de notre estime, de notre confiance absolue pour être à la place qu'ils occupent même momentanément. Ces femmes et hommes de notre cher SUNUGAL—Sénégal— sont au-dessus des médiocres types campés dans ce livre. Je ne pardonnerai (jamais) à une lectrice, un lecteur, toute comparaison, toute allusion même furtive entre "ces personnages inventés" et nos vaillants concitoyens, dévoués à notre avenir jusqu'à leur mort (d'une manière ou d'une autre). Et n'hésiterai pas à recourir à nos lois (qui sont justes, équitables).

GALLE CEDDO (Août 1976-Janvier 1981)^{clxxii}

This book is not to be taken for anything other than a work of imagination. Our dear and beautiful country has borne and bred only men and women worthy of our esteem and entire trust, worthy of the position they occupy even fleetingly. These men and women of our dear SUNUGAL- Senegal- are far superior to the mediocre types portrayed in this book. I will (never) forgive any reader who makes any comparison, any connection even covert between these 'fictional characters' and our valiant fellow citizens, devoted unto death (however it may strike) to building our future. I will not hesitate to have recourse to our laws (which are fair and just).

HOUSE OF THE CEDDO (August 1976-January 1981)^{clxxiii}

With this initial use of Wolof, Sembene inaugurates a bilingual pattern of narration through which linguistic choice is increasingly presented as a proxy for class in the novel, and through which Sembene (demythifying the use of both French and Wolof) launches a critique of an archaic feudalism that underlies public discourse (a classism which, by Sembene's estimation, Senghor—or his fictional double— privileges by his rhetoric). The most important example of this bilingual register is found in the deployment of Wolof by the fictional president as a secret "code" language for foreign-backed military operations—the irony of course being that this "code" language (if obscure to the highest echelons of the ruling class by Sembene's caricature) is a language transparent to the Senegalese majority (and recurrently used by demonstrators in the streets).^{clxxiv} (Indeed, one of the most comic passages of the novel features the inability of General Bastien, French Commander of the Cap-Vert base, to pronounce: "Operation ... Ja... Ja...

Damn it. (He had trouble pronouncing the word Jaron in Wolof). Damn... Operation Dolphin is underway.")^{clxxv} By virtue of this practice, the cipher to the president's sudden disappearance in the novel is effectively encoded in a Wolof proverb, in the designation for a military operation: "*Caaf xēmna*" or "*Caaf da xēm*" (grilled peanuts are charred).^{clxxvi} The irony of this "encoding" is dramatized by the inability of President Mignane's chosen, French- educated successor (Prime Minister Daouda) to divine its meaning or its context, and to thereby maneuver a local, political landscape in the absence of his mentor. Only in the epilogue of the novel, in a scene featuring the journalist Kad and the would-be historian/memoirist Cheikh Tidiane Sall, is the proverb properly interpreted as an encoded military operation, and as a key to the president's disappearance: an elaborate, self-styled coup with foreign backing, that is then displaced by a real military coup and the dismissal of a foreign military presence.

As this plot development suggests, Sembene couples the drama of political succession with a satire on foreign (French) intervention in internal affairs, as the narrative increasingly reflects on the nature of authority and the basis of legitimate succession. In this regard, the novel successively traces the power struggle between a highly educated, progressive Prime Minister of the lower orator caste (Daouda) and the tyrannical Mame Lat Soukabé, of the noble, *guelwaar* caste, with the recurrent speculation that the former could never ascend to the presidency because of his traditional status. Sembene uses Wolof in two key instances to ironically gesture to Senghor's nostalgic, eulogistic writing, in order to critique this endemic (and antidemocratic) feudalism-- an archaism that (to read Sembene) Senghor mistakenly upholds by his rhetoric. In the first example, Daouda's inability to accede to power is ironized through an exchange with Leon Mignane (Senghor's fictional double); accusing him of involvement in the botched coup plot that deposed him, Leon exclaims, "David, don't evade responsibility. Be a Guelewar."

(“David, ne te dérobe pas à tes responsabilités. Sois un Guélewar.”) -- an ironic exhortation, given that "David"'s political failure lies in the fact that he can *never be* a "guelewar," and that the persistent belief in the value of *being one* eclipses all hope of truly democratic practice.^{clxxvii} In another ironic gesture to Senghor's nostalgic eulogies, the apprehension of Wolof by Daouda's Caribbean wife corresponds to both the demythification of “Africa” as an idyllic space, and the demythification of Wolof as an African language:

Elle descendait des victimes de la traite négrière. Là-bas dans son île, elle rêvait de la terre africaine... Terre de ses aïeux! Terre de liberté! Elle ne pouvait digérer, même par pure forme, d'être de naissance inférieure. Elle avait glané quelques mots wolofs, des plaisanteries, des propos stupides: "Bambara Geec! Jam u geec." [Bambara Geec: esclave originaire des Antilles. Jam u Geec: esclave venu au-delà de l'océan.] Ces épithètes discriminatoires l'ulcéraient à présent.^{clxxviii}

She was descended from victims of the slave trade. On her island, she had dreamed of Africa... Land of her ancestors! Land of freedom! She could not tolerate, even as a matter of form, being deemed of inferior birth. She had picked up a few Wolof words, jokes, stupid remarks: 'Bambara geec! Jam u geec!' [Antillean Slave! Overseas Slave!] Those prejudiced expressions made her furious.^{clxxix}

Elsewhere asserting the status of Wolof as the cipher to popular governance in Senegal, Sembene, by suturing these two terms ("Guélewar" and "Jam u geec") into the text, demythifies the language by ironizing its least egalitarian terms. By embedding these inclusions in satirical reference to Senghor, Sembene characterizes local language (in contrast to Senghor's French) as neither the intrinsic vessel of emancipatory values, nor as the "natural" medium to a nostalgic past, but rather as a means of accessing a more critical narration of its traces in language (in this case: feudalism and slavery, racism and prejudice). Sembene in other words suggests that linguistic demythification (in a local context) is a fundamental prerequisite to the democratization of language and political practice.

Sembene's satire of local caste (as advanced through the narrative demythification of the

Wolof language) complements his satire of foreign intervention in domestic affairs (both are presented as flagrantly indifferent to democratic values where local political succession is concerned). In this respect, Sembene ironizes the political projections of the *French* language in the novel's fictional, public sphere (in two key instances), to allude to the distortions of French Imperial power in Subsaharan Africa, and to suggest that (with French as with Wolof) linguistic demythification is a fundamental prerequisite to the democratization of language and the public sphere. In contrast to Senghor's characterization of French influence as "democratic" and "emancipatory," Sembene recasts this influence as semi-feudal, through the parodic inversion of both Senghor's poetic tenor and emblematically French, imperial formulations. In an exemplary, ironic gesture to Senghor's eulogy of the past, a spokesperson of the French government claims (of the absent president), "There is no common measure between the philosopher, the great man Léon Mignane, and the ex-Emperor Bokassa [the Napoleonic aspirant and self-crowned, dictator-turned-Emperor of the Central African Republic]!"^{clxxx} In another example of ironized language that evokes the same emblem of Imperial French power, crowds of demonstrators in *Le Dernier de l'Empire* reinterpret a Napoleonic formulation in a street confrontation with nepotistic bureaucrats, declaring instead a virtual "dictatorship of the proletariat": "*Sommes-nous les bâtards de l'Indépendance? [...] L'État, ç'est nous.*"^{clxxxi}

If, to read *Le Dernier de l'Empire*, Sembene challenges the entitlements of traditional caste (and, in an act of slight misprision, attributes to Senghor an overemphasis on the status of the *guelwaar*), he nonetheless (like Senghor before him) honors and emulates in his work the figure of the *griot*, the traditional orator or *guewel* in Wolof. Both Senghor (the poet) and Sembene (the novelist turned filmmaker) assume that their chosen genres faithfully translate this oratory tradition for a contemporary audience, in an opposition that advances their political

differences on linguistic choice. In an argument for which he has since been much criticized, Senghor identifies poetry as the ideal vessel for a traditional oral aesthetic, for its capture of racial genius in rhythmic expression, and proclaims this instantiation of “*négritude*” to be the natural complement to the choice of literary composition in French (a language of “universal vocation”).^{clxxxii} Although Sembene has also emphasized a rhythmic sensibility in his own interpretation of the *griot* tradition (with the rhythmic building of filmic shots^{clxxxiii}), he nonetheless stresses a different aspect of the *griot*’s work: to read Sembene contrastively, Sembene’s *griot* is less a eulogist than a self-conscious populist, less an apologist than a satirist.^{clxxxiv} This counter-interpretation can be seen as a fundamental determinant of Sembene’s literary medium (moving from text to screen), and a determinant of his oppositional linguistic politics as it accrues in his work. In contrast to Senghor’s pretensions to the “universal” (to a transcontinental audience), Sembene initially projects onto his work an opposing sense of scale, aspiring to a radically concentric, local relevance. This view is inaugurated by the preface to his novel *L’Harmattan* (1964) (with the designation of the “public sphere” in the circumscribed figure of the palaver tree):

Je ne fais pas la théorie du roman africain. Je me souviens pourtant que jadis, dans cette Afrique qui passe pour classique, le griot était, non seulement l’élément dynamique de sa tribu, clan, village, mais aussi le témoin patent de chaque événement. C’est lui qui enregistrait, déposait devant tous, sous l’arbre du palabre, les faits et gestes de chacun. La conception de mon travail découle de cet enseignement: rester au plus près du réel et du peuple.^{clxxxv}

I am not inventing a theory of the African novel. I recall nonetheless that in this Africa that passes for a classical entity, the *griot* was not only the dynamic element of his tribe, clan, village, but also the manifest witness of every event. It was he who recorded, revealed before all, beneath the palaver tree, the facts and gestures of each. The conception of my work ensues from this lesson: to remain as close as possible to the real and to the people.^{clxxxvi}

In this aspiration to local relevance, however, Sembene has been troubled by the perplexing

disjunction between an adequate literary language and an adequate genre: he has often countered that the novel is locally irrelevant for an intended audience of overwhelming illiteracy, that French (as a language understood by a local minority) is equally irrelevant, but that its alternative (Wolof) is untenable for publication, as it would mean exclusive subjection to a local censor (“Why write in Wolof if the book will be banned?”).^{clxxxvii} His decision to privilege the screen over the text, and to ultimately privilege Wolof over French in his films, has been presented as an ideal convergence between a language of maximal access to a national majority, and a genre of maximal access to “the masses.”^{clxxxviii} Sembene has often countered that Wolof effectively serves as the national language of Senegal (without official recognition to this effect),^{clxxxix} but recognizes that, in the presence of insuperable linguistic differences, the *screen* offers the possibility of a unifying language (in the absence of a language that truly unifies): “A particular obstacle for any director who would want to [approach the problems that concern the whole continent] would be the linguistic differences that still exist in Africa. [...] That is why it is our task to create a standardized language of images.”^{cxc} He significantly re-frames this generic and linguistic solution to the problem of public access and local censorship as a cinematic emulation of the *griot*: “The public, the great African public does not have access to literature yet, and even if it did, the world of images, the magic of images, the oral civilization itself are such that the cinema is the intuitive replacement of the palaver tree for us....”^{cxc} Concerning the problem of censorship, he extends this emulation of the *griot* to assert the privileged position of the screen as an egalitarian realm, a public medium “that casts no shadow for kings” (to use the proverbial language of *Le Dernier de l’Empire*):

In the past a traditional artist, a classic storyteller, a *griot* for example, was his own author, producer, and actor. [...] One could bribe and corrupt him to denigrate someone in particular, but whenever he entered the circle, in the middle of his audience, nobody could touch him. [...] Even a king had to play this game and to accept that he was being

imitated.^{cxcii}

To evoke again the argumentative turn of *Le Dernier de l'Empire*, the cinematic medium exists to demythify power and democratize language; in this regard, Sembene's emulation of the griot prescribes that asymmetries of knowledge inherent in relations of authority be countered by a mediator that fills the void—in this case, the camera and its projections.

I would argue that, of Sembene's works, his film *Ceddo* most seamlessly accomplishes this aspirational translation of oratory tradition to the screen, in his most fluid synthesis of form and subject, and in one of his most potent historical counter-narratives on the relations of force that subtend linguistic relations. Though *Ceddo* has been analyzed for its historicity (Diouf), its depiction of local traditions of enslavement (Pfaff), and its representation of animist and Islamic religious practice (Baum, Cham),^{cxci} I consider *Ceddo* the most flawless insertion of the camera into the position of the *guelwel*, in a film that reflexively treats the problem of linguistic orientation and narrative displacement.^{cxci} I consider this emblematic of his work (and a precursor to the concerns of *Le Dernier de l'Empire*), as it captures the author's general fixation with the exclusionary axis of linguistic pretensions to the universal, not only in the wake of Senghor's politics, but as a trans-historical justification of violence. In this regard, Sembene's manipulation of a metalingual register reveals how linguistic relations translate relations of *force*, and it is on this level that his work is richly textured and *palimpsestically* (if not allegorically) inviting: for the text or screen reveals the violent substrate of its own linguistic code, as though it were itself a palimpsest on the linguistic competition that prefigures and enables its own enunciation, to the exclusion of other alternatives.

By this method of reading, I hope to throw into relief the dimensions of Sembene's work that reflexively question or interrogate the selection of a compositional language at key moments

of enunciation, even as that language is employed. (To use a Wolof proverb from *Le Dernier de l'Empire* that is especially pertinent to the visual medium, this palempstic, metalingual aspect of his work recurrently challenges for his public the dictum that “The eye does not see what enters it.”) I argue that this palimpsestic function of the text, revealing how linguistic relations translate relations of force, is evident: through the suturing of cinematographic patterns and filmic subject in *Ceddo*; through evocative associational montage and the desacralization of monumental speech in *Emitai*; through the satirical contrast of polygossia to monolingualism in *Camp de Thiaroye*; and in textual versions of *Xala* and *Mandabi*, it is evident through linguistically encoded, narrative elisions that are successively reinterpreted as dramatic contrasts on-screen. I conclude this chapter by referring again to the public space that Sembene attempts to found as a complement to the cinematic palaver—a space that assumes a metanarrative function not only when featured in his films, but also as a critical medium for the evaluation of the cinema itself, as a historical foregrounding of Sembene’s filmic subjects, and as a parallel projection of the metalingual texture of the screen: *Kaddu*, the first local news publication (and public literacy initiative) in Wolof. This conjoining suggests not only Sembene’s prescription of the screen as a mediator of asymmetries that inhere in relations of power and its linguistic accretions, but also (returning again to the telos of *Le Dernier de l'Empire*) the prescription of the press, as a complement to the narrative work of the cinema.

The Guewel in Cinematography: *Ceddo* & *Emitai*

Sembene’s historical film *Ceddo* (a film Senghor censored on linguistic grounds, on the pretext of the title’s *incorrect transcription* of a Wolof term) treats the ideological and linguistic displacement of traditional systems of authority by Islamic religious structures, and posits a symbiosis between the transatlantic slave trade and Islamic religious wars of forced

conversion.^{cxcv} Concerning a comparable subject to *Dernier de l'Empire* (on the problem of succession and the legitimate basis of political power), the opening sequence of the film dramatizes the problem of legitimate authority in the face of new ideological challenges to a fictional Wolof aristocracy (the local introduction of Islam). Following an initial scene that traces a public debate on patterns of royal inheritance, the film illustrates the agonism between two pretenders to the local throne, pitting orally inherited precedents (mandating matriarchal patterns of inheritance) against interpretations of Islamic law as dictated by the king's new imam (asserting a patriarchal alternative). A parallel displacement (of sovereign and sovereign authority) occurs when the fictional king, deciding to favor Islamic law over its traditional alternative, enables his own usurpation by his consular imam: the king's denial of his nephew's succession nullifies the matriarchal basis of his own authority, leaving his kingdom in a heightened state of civil war. In the projection of an absent (nondiegetic) audience, and as though to audially foreshadow the transatlantic, linguistic displacement and religious alienation that results from this montage of violence, African-American gospel music poignantly accompanies the film's scenes of pillage and enslavement, strangely contrasted with the mutism of European, Christian characters in the film (with whom animist captives are bartered for arms).^{cxcvi}

This displacement of authority (heavily underscored by Sembene's choices in cinematography) is dramatized by ritual acts of exclusion, with the successive shunning from the royal court of the king's royal griot, whose public orations advance in aphoristic and at times prophetic Wolof proverbs. In contrast to this gradual exclusion, the Islamist victor of these linguistic and ideological battles seals his final position of uncontested authority by ritually renaming his subjects with Muslim names, publicly displaying the performative power of his

speech. (As revealed when the Imam clarifies his role to his devotees, the Imam's nomination of the prophet Mohammad in Wolof (*boroom wax*) significantly translates as: "the proprietor of speech.") In the film's final scene, the return of the kingdom's (once captive) princess significantly interrupts the process of re-nomination and collective amnesia, as the princess's assassination of the imam in the midst of this ritual renaming corresponds to a tentative act of restoration. To extend Mowitt's reading of Sembene's cinematography,^{CXCVII} the break in filmic patterns that occurs with the film's final shot—of the princess turning away from the dead imam, as though to face her subjects, but *without* a corresponding, orienting shot (to designate, for example, the scene she faces)—resembles the first term of a truncated nominal sentence, as though extending, in an act of semantic suspension, a question to the audience where one would expect a verdict. To draw further on Mowitt's example: the final shot is the semiotic equivalent of (the Wolof) "*lan la*" or "*x la*" [it is *x*] with the absence of the predicate (or the nominal complement of the final shot) extending beyond the screen; it perhaps (appositionally) functions to conflate the viewing public with an unfulfilled, orienting shot of the princess's final subjects, enabling what Sembene claims (to read him on griotage and on the parallels between past and present) is the fundamental purpose of the cinematic medium: it is the camera's palimpsestic reading of the audience. As Rosen writes, "[t]his theater has two publics: the diegetic audience within the film, which is the Wolof nation defining itself through all the speech it witnesses, and the film-going public which, if African, is constructed as a collective in some way continuous with the first."^{CXCVIII}

On the level of cinematography, Sembene's formal choices in the film imply a suturing of the film's diegetic and non-diegetic audience through the director's restoration (or insertion) of the camera into the role of the griot (whose traditional functions, resisting the trends of collective

amnesia, include the work of historical narrator and genealogist).^{cxcix} As a footnote in *Le dernier de l'Empire* reveals, the etymology of the Wolof word for the orator caste, *guelwel*, comes from the word for circle (*geew*), and in its most literal sense designates "one who makes the rounds": "*Geew: rond, cercle. C'est le mot qui a donné naissance à Geewël: faire le rond, cercle autour de quelqu'un –par extension guewel: caste des griots musiciens.*"^{cc} By inserting the camera in the film's critical scenes at the center of a 360 space, he opposes the western tradition of bisected theatrical space (enshrined in traditional continuity editing by the 180 line) to a local performative tradition characterized by a circular space, in which an orator is positioned at the center of an audience (and makes his "rounds").^{cci} In this respect, Sembene translates a traditional experience of performative space into a cinematic continuity, orienting panoramic shots and cuts between characters around a circular center marked by an emblematic prop (in this case the staff of a *ceddo*, a *samp*, or a collection of fetishes). By this method, Sembene also cinematically inserts himself and his camera into the role of the *griot*, pictorially emphasizing the gradual displacement of the traditional orator figure from a fictional center of power, while positing the camera and the cinematic screen as a recuperative medium.

The first palaver scene of the film begins with an establishing shot of the empty throne, and proceeds with the *ceddo* spokesman marking the center of a circular, oratory space by inserting his staff (*samp*) into the ground (designating the point from which he speaks). The camera subsequently employs this point as an orienting center, moving between shots of the audience on the perimeter of the circle and shots of the speaker from its circumference. The confrontation between king and speaker is further emphasized by unmatched cuts whose visual continuity is marked by the griot's staff. The earliest dialogue in the film additionally highlights the importance of the staff (and of its central position), as the king's speech begins with the

repeated question: what is the meaning of this staff [*samp^{ccii}*]? To which the *ceddo* requests: that his community be exempt from forced labor and forced conversion. When the king responds in the negative, the staff (as an emblem of this articulated grievance) then forms a continuous visual bridge between the film's subsequent palaver scenes, first at an assemblage blessing the departure of the king's son for the rescue of his captive sister (minute 33), and at a second palaver between the king's *griot* and the princess's betrothed (minute 41). Playing on the central position of the camera in this sequence of shots is the costume of the betrothed (Saxewar), with a large mirror attached to his chest, inviting the viewer to question its meaning and the object of its reflection. This pattern of cinematography is replicated again in a final meeting of *ceddo* elders (circled around an assemblage of fetishes), and in the king's last scene (in which the imam declares that Muslims are prohibited from speaking to animists). In this scene, the *ceddo*'s staff is significantly placed beyond the center of the circular, oratory space, and the scene concludes with the lone king facing the staff (which is then burned upon his death). In the final palaver scene of the film (in which the imam is instated as the new king), Sembene maintains the central position of the camera (as "*guewel*") but uses longer shots to exaggerate the perceived distance between the imam and his subjects (a mass of forced converts). Although the opening of the scene mirrors the initial palaver scene (with the king's traditional spokesman inaugurating the assembly), the camera from its central position traces the banishment of the king's *griot* (by the imam) from within the oratory space to beyond its circular perimeter.

With this insertion of the camera into the position of the *guewel* in *Ceddo*, Sembene seems to have perfected a technique that he developed in his earlier film *Emitai* (produced six years before in 1971) and redeploys in the final, climactic scene of his 1975 film, *Xala*. Widely considered a historical bridge between *Ceddo* and his later film *Camp de Thiaroye* (on the 1944

massacre of Senegalese sharpshooters by the French colonial army), the film *Emitai* features the resistance of Diola villagers to forced conscription by the French, and to the forced requisition of rice supplies to Dakar (inspired by historical events in 1940). The two films, *Ceddo* and *Emitai*, bear strong visual resemblances (and, at the limit, can be cross-read as an equational sentence on enslavement and forced conscription); in particular, *Ceddo*'s early panoramic shots of bound captives echo the opening sequence of *Emitai*, with scenes of young men abducted and detained for the colonial army, and of an elderly man, bound and sweltering in the sun for refusing to surrender his son as a conscript. In this early scene of the bound father (a character who later dominates the film's palaver scenes), Sembene's cinematic choices reveal his chosen narrative perspective. After an establishing shot of the bound man positioned at the center of a circle of bystanders, the camera, set loosely in the center of this circular space, alternates between close shots of the bound man and panoramic shots of characters on the perimeter. This *guewel* positioning is also loosely replicated in later palaver scenes that more closely resemble cinematic patterns in *Ceddo*, scenes in which an empty stool, an assemblage of fetishes, or an open fire designate the circular center where the camera is poised, to unify otherwise disorienting cuts along a circular periphery.

Monumental speech as a translation of force: contrasting Sembene and Senghor

Commentators on *Emitai* and Sembene's later film *Camp de Thiaroye* often emphasize the films' political subtexts, which respectively posit the moral equivalence of Vichy and Gaullist France where the Senegalese experience of colonialism is concerned, and a likening of the French occupation of Senegal to the Nazi occupation of France.^{cciii} This equivalence in *Emitai* (as is often noted by critics) climaxes with Sembene's cameo appearance as a Senegalese

corporal who questions the public replacement of a Vichy poster (of Maréchal Petain) with one of De Gaulle (not insignificantly, it is more a superposition than a replacement). In one of Sembene's less frequently referenced Eisensteinian gestures, this superposition of historical narratives is further underscored by an associational montage sequence in *Emitaï*, in which successive, non-diegetic close ups of the monumental statue of "Demba and Dupont" (erected by the French in 1923 to commemorate Senegalese conscripts in World War I) are musically accompanied by a diegetic sound bridge: the Vichy anthem, "Maréchal, nous voilà!".^{cciv} Elsewhere in the film, the sung anthem is heavily overlaid with accents and ellipses to emphasize the foreignness of the French language on the native tongue. In a film otherwise dominated by the Diola language and soundscape, the associational montage that joins a non-diegetic insert with this (now historically embarrassed and censored) instantiation of the French language posits the language itself as a rupture (a nondiegetic insert) in the Diola narrative. As is characteristic of Sembene's work, this sequence reflexively treats the problem of defeatism and narrative displacement by associatively revealing how linguistic relations translate relations of *force* (in a conceptual turn replicated again in *Camp de Thiaroye*). For its associative complexity, this sequence evades a purely allegorical reading for it adjoins the filmic montage to the public sphere less through a referential axis than through a metalingual one. To add a second overlay to this palimpsestic reading of the monumental, non-diegetic insert, the iconoclastic impact of the montage sequence (as a demythification of public speech) is thrown into relief when compared to Senghor's reverence to the same monument in his sacrificial poem, "Prière des Tirailleurs Sénégalais":

*Que l'enfant blanc et l'enfant noir—c'est l'ordre alphabetique--, que les enfants de la
France Confédérée aillent main dans la main
Tels que les prévoit le Poète, tel le couple Demba-Dupont sur les monuments aux Morts
Que l'ivraie de la haine n'embarrasse pas leurs pas dépétrifiés*

*Qu'ils progressent et grandissent souriants, mais terrible à leurs ennemis comme l'éclair
et la foudre ensemble.*^{ccv}

Let the black child and the white child-- the order is alphabetical-- let the children
Of Confederated France walk hand in hand
As foreseen by the Poet, as the Demba-Dupont couple
On monuments to the Dead, and let the cockles of hate
Not encumber their unparalyzed gait
So that they progress and grow up smiling, but remain
As terrifying to their enemies as the union of lightning and thunder.^{ccvi}

What appears to Senghor (writing in 1940) an emblem of equality, fraternity, and mutual glory, Sembene (in 1971) taints with signs of collaborationism and historical embarrassment (a notion complicated by the fact that this associational montage directly follows a scene in which forced conscripts are paradoxically told that they are military “volunteers”).^{ccvii} The poignancy of this non-diegetic insert in the film is further highlighted by a historical event implicated by the subject of Sembene’s film (colonial conscription), an event familiar to his Senegalese audience which Senghor mourned in a second poem: the 1944 killing of 32 Senegalese sharpshooters^{ccviii} striking for unequal pay at the Thiaroye Camp site in Dakar (where the “Demba-Dupont” monument is now located). This formative historic event as treated in Sembene’s later film *Camp de Thiaroye* corresponds again to Sembene’s demythification of the French language (his dramatization of linguistic relations as relations of force), a demythification thrown into relief when compared to Senghor’s treatment of the same event. Senghor in “Tyaroye” (a poem written in Paris, December 1944), characteristically transforms the massacre into a sacrificial act:

*Prisonniers noirs je dis bien prisonniers français, est-ce donc vrai que la France n'est
plus la France? [...]
Dites, votre sang ne s'est-il mêlé au sang lustral de ses martyrs? [...]
Non, vous n'êtes pas morts gratuits ô Morts! Ce sang n'est pas de l'eau tépide.
Il arosé épais notre espoir qui fleurira au crépuscule.*^{ccix}

Black prisoners, I should say French prisoners, is it true
That France is no longer France? [...]
Tell me, hasn't your blood mixed with her martyr's purified blood? [...]

No, you have not died in vain, O Dead! Your blood
Is not tepid water. It generously feeds our hope, which will bloom at twilight.^{ccx}

In contrast to Senghor's poem, Sembene ultimately refuses to enshrine his historical narration in sacrificial language, instead recreating the event as an unredeemed tragedy of entrapment and misprision. In contrast to Senghor's poetry, Sembene's film ironizes the tropes of sacrificial language in an early scene, in which a commanding French officer addressing his Senegalese troops proclaims (of the soldiers whose massacre he condones in a matter of days): "Thanks to your sacrifices," France "betrayed and bloodied" has been "reborn from its ashes." [*"Grâce à [vos] sacrifices... La mère patrie, France, trahie, ensanglantée, est renée des cendres"* (12m 40.)] (Not insignificantly, this speech is conveyed in language that, for its emphasis on renaissance and salvation, strongly evokes the Petainist anthem of Vichy France.^{ccxi}) As this ironization of sacrificial language implies and as the following reading of linguistic patterns in the film suggests, if Sembene's narration in *Camp de Thiaroye* does not succumb to the temptations of a projected redemption beyond the massacre, in a somewhat vindictive gesture it nonetheless celebrates the moribund nature of the French empire with its oblique allusions to French capitulation in World War II. In an exemplary scene that visually associates the historical past with the prophetic image of a declining Empire, poetic justice is served when a mute Senegalese soldier guards a kidnapped French General during the strike while donning a Nazi war helmet—his "trophy" as a former prisoner of war.

The Basilect as a utopian frame: Language as Satire in Thiaroye, Xala, & Mandabi

Sembene's film *Camp de Thiaroye* commemorates the historical massacre of Senegalese soldiers by French troops for striking against unequal pay, while re-imagining the historical vicissitudes of language and linguistic competition under the French colonial regime. In contrast

to Senghor's emphasis on Francophonie as a unifying force (with France), the opening scenes of Sembene's film celebrate the polyglottism of its historical characters, with comic scenes of recalcitrance and misunderstanding that result from the inability of French commanders to fully communicate with their troops (who alternate between their native languages, "pidgin" French (*petit nègre*), and phrases of German acquired as prisoners of war). Through this dynamic of informational asymmetries, Sembene linguistically reconfigures the nature of power and empowerment in a context of situational entrapment: a power vacuum forms from disparities in understanding that can only be filled by a successful translator, a successful polyglot, whose superiority over either party lies in his ability to immediately seize what others only partially comprehend. (The irony of the film's conclusion plays on this notion, when a mute soldier (Pays) observes French tanks arriving to massacre the "mutineers," and cannot convey this to his fellow soldiers.) It is in this light that the figure of the native Senegalese Sargeant Major Diatta emerges as a superior to both his African peers and his French commanders, independently maneuvering within a *babelian* context where others rely on his mediation and translation.

In contrast to Senghor's (aforementioned) defense of *Francophonie* against the onslaught of English, the linguistic economy of Sembene's film appears to celebrate the challenge of the English language to the historical hegemony of French in Senegal. Far from an inherent vessel of Enlightenment values, of liberty and equality, the French language is portrayed in the film as an instrument of freedom's deferral, a weapon used to perpetuate discrimination. In an illustrative bar scene, Diatta takes advantage of a borrowed American military uniform and his abilities in English to pose as a black American soldier, being directed to a local establishment reserved for colonial patrons by virtue of his ability to linguistically "pass." His access of (and later exclusion from) privileged spaces is thus revealed to be not racially but rather linguistically

based: he is reviled and forcefully expelled from the bar when he orders a "Pernod," and subsequently speaks French, revealing himself to be a colonial subject of the French Empire rather than an American soldier. The film sequence effectively equates the use of the French language with systemic entrapment: far from a medium of liberty and "maximal access," the French language is exposed for its deteriorating terms of exchange.

A second instance of this linguistic dynamic-- of the ascendancy of English against French, and the superiority of polyglossia over monolingualism-- can be found in a scene of negotiation between American and French officers for the return of a kidnapped American soldier. In this scene, Diatta proves indispensable as the sole translator for his superiors, as an impeccable speaker of French and English who demonstrates by his unique linguistic command his leverage over French superiors. This power, anchored in knowledge asymmetries, is further reinforced when he engages with the Americans (in a humorous exchange in English) on the moribund nature of the French Empire. The humor of the scene relies on the French officers' incomprehension of the insult dealt to them; in the linguistic economy of the film, their ignorance reinforces the assertion of the American commander on the imminent decline of French power in West Africa.^{ccxii}

Sembene's conception of power as latent in linguistic disparities is also dramatized in two of his (non-historical) novels and film adaptations, *Mandabi* and *Xala*. Both set in newly independent Senegal, their inverse dramatization of French as a local, postcolonial acrolect warrants their parallel reading: if *Mandabi* laments the position of French as an uncontested acrolect in Senegal, its status is satirically contested-- and prescriptively reversed-- in *Xala*. In *Mandabi*, an illiterate,^{ccxiii} unemployed polygamist (receiving an unexpected money order from a nephew in Paris) fecklessly navigates through a bureaucratic, government labyrinth in order to

cash his money order, and is ultimately dispossessed by a posturing Francophone businessman. *Xala* offers a near reversal of this plot, instead featuring the subjection of a Francophile businessman to a curse of impotence (the *xala*), in an act of vengeance by a dispossessed mendicant (a farmer whose land the businessman had long misappropriated). In a move that Sembene resumes in *Le Dernier de l'Empire*, the satirical functions of both *Mandabi* and *Xala* occur through linguistically encoded narrative elisions, elisions which are then reinterpreted in the screen adaptations of each novel to underscore that each protagonist's impotence is a fundamentally linguistic one.

The narrative elisions of *Mandabi* are enunciatively encoded in French, to dramatize the Wolof protagonist's status as a marginalized presence. Through this disjuncture, through these linguistically encoded elisions, the narrative focus at crucial points in the novel is divorced from catalytic elements of the plot, to stage a satirical attack on the systemic exploitation enabled by linguistic difference. The first of these elisions features the protagonist (Ibrahima Dieng) standing outside of a bank to cash a check, and subsequently approached with offers of assistance by men who "spoke in French, which Dieng did not understand" [*"Ils conversèrent en français (que Dieng ne comprenait pas)"*].^{ccxiv} The plot developments that follow this disorienting elision in the dialogue convey to the reader the correlation between this omission and the protagonist's dispossession (enabled by a disparity of linguistic understanding). Similar patterns occur later in novel, with a scheming photographer whose brief inner dialogue, as emphasized by the narration, takes place in French (*"'Tiens, te voilà, toi, vieux porte-malheur,' dit-il en français en voyant Dieng"* [*"'So, there you are, you old Jonah,' he said in French when he caught sight of Dieng*]), and finally with a distant relative, Mbaye, whose disappearance from the narration (it is later implied) corresponds to the ultimate disappearance of the money

order.^{ccxv} The screen adaptation of the novel more heavily underscores the linguistic aspect of this exploitation, by translating the last of these narrative elisions into embellished linguistic contrasts on screen. In the most dramatic example, the ultimate antagonist of *Mandabi* is inserted into two scenes absent from the novel, *to emphasize that the cause of the protagonist's dispossession is linguistically encoded*. In the first scene, the antagonist, Mbaye, drives by Dieng's home with a ministerial collaborator, revealing (in the French dialogue that ensues) an insidious, secondary motive for the film's plot progression: that he is scheming to expropriate his house. In perhaps the most crucial scene of the film (also not included in the novel), this antagonist (Mbaye) converses in French over the phone in the presence of his victim—but because of the linguistic disparity, in a height of dramatic irony, Dieng fails to realize that the conversation plots his pending bankruptcy.

The novel *Xala* works through a converse misprision, for the cause of (and solution to) the protagonist's dispossession is also linguistically encoded--- but in *Wolof* instead of in French. Whereas Sembene's earlier work (*Mandabi*) laments the position of French as an uncontested acrolect in Senegal, its status is satirically contested and prescriptively reversed in *Xala*: the protagonist's fatal flaw is *not* his linguistic *incapacity in* French (as in *Mandabi*), but rather his linguistic *choice* of French. Whereas, in Sembene's earlier work, the linguistic dye is cast, Sembene introduces an element of volition in *Xala* where the plot's linguistic cipher is concerned; it is not the *privileged status* of French, but rather the *act of privileging* French that prolongs the protagonist's *xala* (the curse of impotence). Limiting his suspects within linguistic confines, the protagonist's fatal flaw is to neglect the presence of the true culprit: a dispossessed beggar, who recurrently sings in Wolof outside of his office. Through the trope of the beggar, Sembene inverts the trajectory of *Mandabi*, but employs a complementary pattern of narrative

elision. The disjunction between narrative focus and crucial plot catalysts in *Xala* not only satirizes the systemic exploitation enabled by linguistic difference (as in *Mandabi*), but also asserts the position of Wolof as a medium of leverage over the Francophile protagonist, El Hadji—by virtue of his oversight of its speakers. In this regard, narrative elisions in *Xala* encode the prescription to the curse within the figure of the beggar; though introduced as a minor audial motif (the source of a persistent, “irritating” [“agaçant”] song in Wolof), the beggar’s elided, narrative presence rises from a passing allusion to the status of *character*, when he climactically reveals himself as the vindictive wielder of the *xala*, and the solution to its reversal.^{ccxvi}

The screen adaptation of the novel expands this linguistic contrast by translating the beggar’s elided presence into ironic synchronies of off-screen sound (in Wolof) and on-screen dialogue (in French). The most dramatic example (taking its cue from the novel) occurs with El Hadji’s speculation in French as to the source of the curse, synchronized with the resumption and amplification of the beggar’s off-screen song in Wolof, whose lyrics encode the solution to his malaise, forming a proverbial chastisement of the regent that (like a lizard) “brooks nobody else around him.”^{ccxvii} By amplifying this contrastive subtext, the film more dramatically shows that the cipher to the *xala* is linguistically encoded, and that it is El Hadji’s privileging of one linguistic instantiation over another (his linguistic *choice*) that prolongs his impotence. (Sembene subsequently plays on this later in the film, by seamlessly translating the beggar’s song from what appears to be non-diegetic musical accompaniment into diegetic sound, a move that corresponds to the elevation of the beggar to the status of a central character, and the elevation of Wolof from a basilect to an acrolect.)

Kaddu and the Democratization of language

Another element that moves from passing allusion in the novel *Xala* to a recurring (meta-narrative) trope on-screen is *Kaddu*, Senegal's first Wolof news publication (founded by Sembene and Pathé Diagne in 1971). Its establishment, complementing the trajectory of the film (if, indeed, it carries a didactic message on linguistic choice), was a short-lived tentative to democratize literacy and language use in Senegal. Mentioned only once in the novel (with El Hadji's daughter, Rama, referencing her work on the transcription of Wolof), the publication is recurrently featured in the film's mise en scène with a poster copy adorning Rama's bedroom and alluded to by the film's minor characters. In the film it becomes a meta-narrative prop when an invitation is extended by one of the journal's vendors to a victimized villager, to publish the story of his dispossession in the journal. Functioning on the premise that Wolof had attained the status of a majority language in Senegal, and was (contrary to government policy) the natural choice for an official national language, the journal can also be considered, as this invitation scene in *Xala* suggests, a complement to Sembene's fictional work, foregrounding the subjects of his films and novels (in didactic articles).

Conclusion: Wolof as "historical accident" & Malay as a counterfactual

"*Et le français?*"

[El-Hadji]

"*Un accident historique. Le wolof est notre langue nationale*"

[Rama]

"What about French?"

[El-Hadji]

"An historical accident. Wolof is our national language."

[Rama]^{ccxviii}

These two lines, taken from the dialogue in *Xala*, between the Francophile protagonist and his daughter, seem to advance the premise of *Kaddu* and its founders. As the novel subsequently reveals, the logic behind this statement is justified by the "fact" (often repeated by

Sembene in interviews) that Wolof is “used by 85%” of the population of Senegal.^{ccxix} Although Sembene has elsewhere admitted that this is a controversial conclusion (with other ethnic groups contesting Wolof’s status as an unrivaled, “national” language), and although (as Gugler points out) later issues of *Kaddu* feature writing in other languages (suggesting the awareness of the founders of Wolof’s limits as a unifying language), the logic of this conclusion begs the question: how *did* Wolof ascend to this status relative to alternative local languages? Is it possible that the ascendancy of Wolof (poised to assume the majority status of a “national language”) was *itself* “a historical accident”? (Is Sembene, as an ethnic Lebou and native Wolof speaker, merely “naturalizing” the *choice* of Wolof?)

Looking forward to the next section of the dissertation, the Indonesian case offers a unique counterfactual to what might have occurred in Senegal had Wolof been used as the colonial language of administration instead of French. The Wolof language in Senegal was, like Malay in Indonesia, a coastal language and a regional trade language, and one which the French used as an oral intermediary to penetrate the Senegalese interior.^{ccxx} But where the Dutch *withheld* the use of their language and instead romanized Malay (as a regional ‘*lingua franca*’), the French imposed their language as an official, administrative medium.^{ccxxi}

The difference meant that, in the Dutch East Indies, a *vernacular intermediary* (Malay) came to be officially recognized by the Dutch by the late nineteenth century as a language of administration, spreading among non-native speakers (like the Javanese), and *bureaucratically* acknowledged through standardization in Latin-script (away from its conventional, Arabic alternative). In Senegal, in contrast, the early use of Wolof as a vernacular intermediary for colonial control contributed to its *growing use* within the region among non-native Wolof speakers. This *spread*, however, has remained *less visible in print* than in speech,

unaccompanied (unlike the case of romanized Malay in the Dutch East Indies) by the move towards widespread *transcription* (alongside the advent of print-colonialism), leaving in crisis through much of the twentieth century those who sought to dignify vernacular literary forms over others borne by an official, French-language infrastructure.

Despite these differences, there is a common historical parallel (related to Sembene): both Indonesia and Senegal witnessed the promotion of vernacularism as populism by leftist writers. This occurred through the print-activism of the radical left in Senegal, with the foundation of the first native-language journal, *Kaddu*, in the 1970s, challenging a print-apparatus inherited from the French colonial state. A parallel language politics is evident in the Indonesian case, most prominently expressed by the influential, radical leftist author Pramoedya Ananta Toer (the subject of this dissertation's fifth chapter)—who sought to dignify the *non-colonial* origins of print-nationalism through his revisionist historical research and fiction. Despite this commonality, both nations continued to be riddled with an ongoing, and highly politicized, crisis of vernacular language transcription. As will be treated in the following chapter, this crisis in Indonesia was most evident through the contested (Arabic) script-origins of nationalized Malay.

“Above language and nation”:
Sacralized script and the contested origins of nationalized Malay

Introduction

Like the first chapter on the Senegalese Sufi poet Amadu Bamba, the present chapter highlights the centrality of script change (from Arabic to Latin) in the formation of a nationalized language. It also considers the implications of this script change for the local sustainment of Arabic as a devotional acrolect. The primary subject of this chapter, the trilingual, Sumatranese author Hamka, occupies an exceptional position as an Indonesian writer coming of age during the critical transition towards romanization in the Dutch East Indies in the 1910s and 1920s. His descent from a line of clerics, from among the founders of the pan-Islamic, Arabic script periodical *al-Munir*, and his linguistic ability in both Arabic and Latin scripts (*jawi* and *rumi*), places him in a unique position as a writer who largely abandoned the Arabic script for popular publishing (in the 1930s), but continued to inscribe in his work an enduring identification with a pan-Islamic, pan-Malay community, symbolized by the Arabic script (*jawi*). The traces of this *jawi* identity resurface in his romanized writing, as he recurrently sought, to borrow Michael Laffan’s terms, “to reconcile Islamic activism within the new frameworks of the rumi press and the Dutch colonial state”—and, later, the independent Indonesian state that emerged in its wake.^{ccxxii}

What follows is a narrative of this attempted reconciliation, of Islamic activism at the frontlines of an at times ideologically charged, shift towards a romanized, nationalized print-culture. Hamka’s increasing reference in his post-independence writing to the historical

precedent of a regional, Arabic-script convergence suggests that, even as he increasingly chose to publish in romanized script, his awareness of the foregone, Arabic alternative to romanization, of a script–unity “beyond language and nation” [*“atas bahasa dan bangsa”*], continued to profoundly influence not only his work, but also his position as a populist Islamic leader and influential politician in post-independence Indonesia.^{ccxxiii}

As a prominent leader of the Islamic *Muhammadiyah* movement, Hamka holds an unrivaled position in twentieth-century, Indonesian cultural history as the persistent intermediary between two fields often deemed mutually exclusive by religious conservatives: as aptly stated by the Indonesian literary critic Farchad Poeradisastra, “it would be easy to find clerics more learned, better writers abound, but there is no comparable figure in Indonesian history (with even half his talents) who attempted to bridge the literary and religious realms.”^{ccxxiv} Hamka began writing poetry and prose works in Arabic and Arabic script in the 1920s, before shifting to romanized Malay in the 1930s. During the interwar period, he additionally translated and adapted literary works from Arabic to Malay, and was the chief editor of the Islamic periodical *Pedoman Masyarakat* (based in Medan, North Sumatra from 1936 to 1941). A prominent Sumatranese leader of the reformist *Muhammadiyah* movement, his political career culminated with his appointment as chairman of Indonesia’s first council of Islamic clerics (the M.U.I., from 1975-1981). It is therefore not only Hamka’s polyglossia (fluency in Arabic, nationalized Malay, and his regional Minang dialect) but also his self-conscious mediation between Indonesia’s literary, religious, and political domains that renders him an unparalleled subject for studying the correlations between cultural nationalism, literary experimentation, and the transformative influence of pan-Islamism in twentieth century Indonesia.

The structure of the present chapter mirrors that of the first chapter on Senegal. It begins

by tracing the politicization of the Arabic script as an emblem of difference in the colonial archives of the Dutch East Indies, highlighting parallels to this process in French West Africa. The implications of the widespread, administrative adoption of Latin script in the Dutch East Indies are further considered, relying principally on Hadler's examination of the use of a Minang vernacular (Hamka's native language) as the colonial model for Romanization. The chapter proceeds through an analysis of three correlated trends evident in Hamka's literary writing and print-journalism: his shift from publishing in Arabic script to Latin script, his changing translational orientation (from a trans-oceanic focus on Egypt and the Hijaz, to a proto-national, Indonesian context), and his evolving political loyalties, from an ardent pan-Islamism (in 1936-7) to a greater promotion of Indonesian nationalism (in 1938-9). The chapter concludes by examining Hamka's conservative return to a pan-Islamic, pan-Malay (*jawi*) transnationalism, evident in his writing on language politics and Arabic script use after independence. This study thereby traces the individual language and script patterns of one of Indonesia's most prominent Muslim theologians and authors (publishing between 1925 and 1981), while considering how these patterns historically demonstrate the tension between a nationalized, romanized Malay language and the Arabic script that (by Hamka's estimation) represented its authentic, pre-colonial origins.

Colonial philology and Script Change in the Dutch East Indies: Parallels to French West Africa

Dutch language practice was aberrant when compared to that of the Portuguese, Spaniards, French, and English, who tended to impose their own languages upon their colonies: the Dutch largely withheld use of their language in the Indies and instead promoted (or reverted to) Malay for administrative and diplomatic purposes from the 17th through 19th centuries.^{ccxxv} The reasons for this withholding are themselves a point of controversy. Certain theories suggest it

was the desire to artificially establish the language as an exclusive, status language in the colonies,^{ccxxvi} though a more enduring motivation for the reversion to Malay in the Dutch-governed, public sphere appears to have been the failure of Dutch language pedagogy in early missionary schools, the gradual employment and perceived sufficiency of Malay for Christian Missionary work,^{ccxxvii} and the recurrent challenges to Dutch administrative officials in mastering the principal court languages and scripts of the archipelago—namely, Sanskritized Javanese script and *Jawi* (Malay in Arabic script).

The common reversion to Malay as an interpretive medium^{ccxxviii} corresponded to an intensifying crisis of transcription in the mid- to late-nineteenth century, as it became the increasing conviction among colonial administrators that the Arabic script (in which Malay was customarily transcribed since at least the 13th century)^{ccxxix} was linguistically inadequate and ideologically suspect. As Hadler notes (in an unpublished dissertation appendix on Malay orthography), an anti-semitic bias in the study of indigenous languages was first espoused by the British official John Crawfurd in his *History of the archipelago* (1820), written during the British interregnum of the early nineteenth century (when Britain took control of the Dutch East Indies during the Napoleonic Invasion of Holland).^{ccxxx} Crawfurd's work inaugurated a general tendency to favor Indic elements of indigenous languages, and to favor the sanskritized Javanese script over the "corruptions" of its semitic alternative (a trend resumed later by Raffles and Marsden during the temporary British government of the Indies).^{ccxxxi} This hierarchical division between Indic and Semitic scripts, reinforced by the Dutch treatment of the transcription problem, was defended with the reiteration of a nineteenth century philological bias, according to which the faithful correspondence between transcription and the spoken word was seen as a sign of perfection and divinity in language.^{ccxxxii} The absence of vowelings in *jawi* (Arabic script

Malay) was thus considered a sign of inadequacy and linguistic corruption, when compared to the more exact correspondence of transcribed Javanese.

Beyond this philological prejudice, pragmatic and ideological motives contributed to the eventual marginalization of the Arabic script under Dutch governance (after the Indies reverted to Dutch control in 1816). Arabic orthography for Malay was not only dismissed as a linguistic corruption for its lack of vowelings, but also relegated for the exclusions it implied to an aspiring class of European rulers. As in French West Africa, the choice of a prevailing script for the Dutch administration of the East Indies was related to the perception of the Arabic-script as an obstacle, as it became “increasingly clear that teaching the natives to write in roman script would be far easier for the Europeans than learning the rules of Jawi [Malay in Arabic script] themselves.”^{ccxxxiii} The problem of reliable interpreters,^{ccxxxiv} and the difficulties of mastering native languages and scripts among the Dutch, added to a general sense of insecurity that culminated with the identification of Arabic as a potential conduit for Islamic fanaticism, particularly in the wake of the Padri and Aceh Wars fought between the Dutch and Islamic reformists in Sumatra. As advocated most prominently in the 1860s by Jan Pijnappel, a Malay language Instructor for colonial administrators at the Delft Academy, the mastery of Malay in Arabic script (*jawi*) presupposed a command of the Arabic language, familiarity with the Qurʾān, and the potential danger of Islamic militancy.^{ccxxxv} By his estimation, Arabic script for Malay transcription (despite its longstanding use) applied to a local demographic “the pressure of an unwholesome leaven of fanaticism personally acquired by all those who, through knowledge of Arabic script, had access to Arabic culture and the Koran.”^{ccxxxvi} (As Hadler writes of this phase of language competition, “In the Indian Archipelago, in central Java and the Minang Kabau, the

Manichean culture war of Indo-European and Semitic civilizations had found its first front.”^{ccxxxvii}

The latter half of the nineteenth century witnessed the most direct interventions of colonial authority into the formation of local print-languages, in a continued trend of favoring sanskritized Javanese forms over Arabic script for local language writing.^{ccxxxviii} In the pattern of earlier ideological confluences of Arabic with Islamic radicalism, Karel Frederik Holle, appointed Honorary Advisor for Native Affairs in 1871, sought to moderate Islamic religious influence through script modification, i.e., to regulate religious influence “without [explicitly] encroaching on the domain of religion.”^{ccxxxix} Offering perhaps the most dramatic solution to the Arabic transcription “problem” in West Java, Holle controversially developed an “artificial variety of [sanskritized] Javanese script” for the publication of Betawi agricultural brochures and a popular monthly in West Java, in order to bypass the use of the more prevalent and customary Arabic transcription.^{ccxi} “The conservation of the Arabic script, if necessary,” he pronounced, “might safely be left to *pesantrens* [religious schools] and *langars* [prayer “chapels” for elementary Quranic recitation].”^{ccxli} (The beginnings of a segregated school system might perhaps also lie with Holle, given his involvement in the foundation of a teacher training college for native schools, the “*Kweek school voor onderwijzers op Inlandsche Scholen*,” an institution founded with muslim clerical associates—despite Holle’s refusal to employ the Arabic script for the training of interpreters and teachers.)

Holle’s promotion of script modification in the pedagogical sphere suggests his position as a precursor to Snouck Hurgronje, the most influential architect of Dutch Islamic policy at the turn of the twentieth century. SnouckSnouck argued that the expansion of “secular” or “westernized” education in the Dutch East Indies—and the standardization of romanized script

for this purpose—was the “surest means of reducing and ultimately defeating the influence of Islam in Indonesia.”^{ccxlii} As a recent doctoral graduate from Leiden, Snouck was first sent on a surveillance mission to the Hijaz, during which he nominally converted to Islam, and overturned earlier perceptions of the Hajj as a radicalizing experience for most Indies muslims (a perception dating from the Raffles interregnum in the 1810s, when a radical Hajji cleric was thought to be, according to Raffles, “active in every case of insurrection” against European rule).^{ccxliii} Despite his moderation of colonial fears of pan-Islamism, upon his appointment as advisor for Arabian and Native Affairs in the East Indies (in 1885),^{ccxliv} he initiated a policy of ruthless suppression against North Sumatra’s clerical community during the prolonged expansionary war with the Acehese (initiated in the 1873, and lasting until the first decade of the twentieth century).

The political solution to the conflict in Aceh offers the underlying logic for developments in the linguistic sphere. According to Benda’s synopsis, Snouck concluded that “[t]he enemy was not Islam as a religion, but Islam as a political doctrine, both in the shape of agitation by local fanatics and in the shape of pan-Islam, whether or not it was in fact inspired by Islamic rulers abroad, such as the [Ottoman] caliph.”^{ccxlv} The prescription that followed was for the widespread depoliticization of Islam in the Dutch East Indies, through which a twofold tactic was pursued of outward religious neutrality (as devotional Islam posed no inherent threat),^{ccxlvi} and of the vigilant suppression of early signs of political incitement among the clerical community.^{ccxlvii} (This also translated into enduring Dutch support for the least religiously radical elements of indigenous society, with the courting of *adat* leaders (customary chiefs from the outer islands) and the Javanese aristocracy.)

In an extension of Holle’s logic, Hurgonje’s depoliticization of Islam in the public sphere corresponded to widespread moves to scripturally decouple the colonies’ Muslim masses from

their prescribed devotional language. (This was a policy move justified by the conclusion that Indonesians were uninvested, syncretist Muslims rather than orthodox scripturalists—a conclusion which generations of Islamic reformers in Indonesia, like Hamka, attempted to later redress, making adherence to the script a potent symbol of both religious integration and anti-colonial difference.) In Snouck’s language, a “spiritual annexation” had to follow subjection by force: Dutch “[colonial] inheritance—has been held to us until now by force. But if this unity is to withstand the storms of the times, we must now follow the material annexation by a spiritual one.”^{ccxlviii} The solution, later identified as a politics of “Association” (1911), was a reorientation of the native masses to Dutch civilization with the secular, “western” education of *priyayi* and *adat* aristocrats, greater assimilation of Indies natives into the civil administration, and the development of a more extensive pedagogical infrastructure for the indigenous masses.

This language of “spiritual annexation” and the Dutch policy of “Association” strikingly compares to that of colonial administrators in French West Africa, who concurrently developed a colonial politics of “Association” on similar grounds, under the patronizing cause of a “Civilizing Mission” (“*Mission Civilisatrice*”).^{ccxlix} Although Harrison mentions the influence of Snouck’s writing on French colonial policy, these parallelisms between Dutch and French colonial Islamic have yet to be extensively explored. Of particular note, Snouck’s exposition of Dutch Islamic policy in Academic circles 1910/1911,^{cci} was translated and published in colonial French policy journals at around the same time that Jules Harmand in France (1910) advocated a comparable politics of “Association” (to displace an earlier policy of “Assimilation”). Perhaps even more striking is that the 1911 French translation and publication of Snouck’s Islamic policy recommendations historically coincide with the decision in French West Africa to prohibit the

official use of Arabic for contractual purposes (in a May 1911 circular), despite digraphic French and Arabic having been until then conventionally employed.

The process of Arabic script displacement under Snouck's counsel in the Dutch East Indies began with an official circular in 1894 urging all *penghulus* (religious officiants supported by the Dutch government) to employ Latin script instead of Arabic.^{cc^{li}} Of more enduring relevance (in the same year), Snouck recommended the standardization of Malay in romanized script, tasking the Dutch linguist Van Ophuijsen^{cc^{lii}} to design a system of transcription for archipelago-wide Malay. For our purposes, three major implications emerge from the assertion of "Van Ophuijsen" Malay as a textual acrolect, and as a textual standard in the Indies public sphere. With the projection of a new textual acrolect came the formal relegation of the more hybrid, unstandardized "*dienst-Maleisch*" [service Malay] as a textual basilect, a language that had been in semi-official use, and employed since the 1850s in urban print journalism (pioneered by Eurasian and Chinese minorities of Dutch-controlled Indies ports).^{cc^{liii}}

The second major implication is one identified by Hadler (in his dissertation appendix on Malay orthography): because dialectical differences in Malay are carried through vowel pronunciation, and Arabic script elides the transcription of vowels, the transition from the Arabic transcription of Malay to standardized Malay writing in romanized script meant selecting a single Malay dialect as a written model for transcribing vowels. (The dialectical differences erased by Arabic script convergence, in which vowels are not included, were reemphasized in the process of romanization.) In other words, when Malay was transcribed in Arabic, dialectical differences were elided, corresponding to the textual perception of a script unity or script convergence accross Jawi Malayophone regions (between present day Indonesia and Malaysia); in the process of romanization, however, a system of dialectical unity in Arabic script gave way

to a romanized system of privileging or upholding a single dialect as a general model for the proto-Indonesian language (for regions controlled by the Netherlands). A final implication follows, in line with Ben Anderson's conclusion that "certain dialects inevitably were 'closer' to each print-language [in which an emerging nationalism was expressed] and dominated their final forms. Their disadvantaged cousins, still assimilable to the emerging print-language, lost caste, above all because they were unsuccessful (or only relatively successful) in insisting on their own print-form [...]."^{ccliv} The choice of a dialectical model for standardized, romanized transcription would have a significant effect on the beginnings of Indonesian and proto-Indonesian literature, as Van Ophuijsen Malay became (until after independence in 1947, when the orthography was slightly modified) a pedagogical standard,^{cclv} and a standard for literary print publishing in the Dutch East Indies. Although Van Ophuijsen was instructed by Snouck to follow the vowelling standards of the "cultivated Malays of insular Riau,"^{cclvi} he appears to have fallen back to the Northwest Sumatranese, Minang dialect in his postulation of a romanized standard.^{cclvii} With the establishment of *Balai Pustaka*, eventually the largest literary publishing house in the Indies (founded by the Dutch administration in 1908 and now transformed into the printing press of Indonesia's National Ministry of Education and Culture),^{cclviii} writers from the Minang region, a "numerically and ethnically subordinate" minority within the Indies archipelago, came to dominate *Balai Pustaka* by the early 1920s, and "in many ways defin[ed] official, proto-national Malay."^{cclix} As Hadler concludes, "through literature and the fixing of a protonational language, the Minang Kabau of *Balai Pustaka* saw their best chance to inject aspects of their home culture onto that of the colony."^{cclx}

From pan-Islamism to Nationalism:

Hamka's changing politics, sacred language, and the novel's heteroglossia

Hamka occupies an extraordinary position at the juncture between regional Sumatranese (*rantau Minang*) influences and the influences of a transnational Arabic language public. In the following analysis, I demonstrate that Hamka's writing during the 1930s represents his attempted reconciliation of Islamic activism within an ascendant *rumi* press, as a Minang author who increasingly published with *Balai Pustaka*, and whose evolving politics on the contours of pan-Islamism and cultural nationalism are evident in both his journalistic writing and his novelistic prose.^{cclxi} In this respect, he conceived of his work less in terms of a colonial project of westernized "literary modernity," than in alignment with current literary trends in the Middle East (and, more precisely, Egypt, as the intellectual center of Islamic reformism). If his romanized print publications were ultimately removed or divorced from his earlier Arabic writing, he nonetheless initially conceived of his with *Balai Pustaka* as integrally linked to his consumption and emulation of Arabic literary texts.^{cclxii} Hamka might thereby be seen as a figure at the nexus of these two movements—between the translations of the literary *Nahḍa* in Egypt and the adaptations of *Balai Pustaka* in the Dutch East Indies—given that his adaptations are based on nineteenth century Egyptian translations of French novels (*Paul et Virginie* and *Sous les Tilluils*). (Although it is not the primary purpose of this chapter, the centrality of translation for the foundation of a local, literary modern in the *Balai Pustaka* project invites comparison to elements of the Arabic literary *Nahḍa* centered in Egypt,^{cclxiii} in which the proto-nationalist projection of literary modernity was deeply intertwined with a widespread movement of translation and adaptation from European languages.) I would argue that, even with Hamka's transition from Arabic to Latin script, in his accommodation of Islamic activism to "the new frameworks of the rumi press and the Dutch colonial state," one can also read the influential

traces of an Egyptian-Arabic literary *Nahḍa* in Hamka's filiation with a *jawi* identity.^{cclxiv}

Among Hamka's Arabic and Jawi writing in the 1920s, such as *Si Sabariah* and *Khatīb ul-Umma* [*Scribe of the Ecumene*], is a lost work whose content might nonetheless be inferred by the circumstances of its prohibition and by Hamka's later publications after independence. The publication of Hamka's first literary work, *Si Sabariah* (written in the local Minang dialect in Arabic script in 1927-8), coincided with this lost publication, a semi-political tract entitled *Adat Minangkabau dan Agama Islam* [Minangkabau Traditions and the Religion of Islam] (1929),^{cclxv} prohibited by the Dutch authorities in 1933. The explicit reasons for its prohibition remain unclear. If his post-independence work on the eponymous subjects (*Adat Minangkabau dan repoloesi*, published in the 1950s) is any indication, however, one might conclude that the banned publication treated themes critical of a decadent, local (Minang) aristocracy, to which Islam was seen as a countervailing force (a form of polemical writing in line with his father's legacy as a founder of the Islamic, reformist periodical *al-Munir*).

Hamka's introductory editorial after taking over as chief editor for the Islamic, Medan-based publication *Pedoman Masyarakat* begins with an unequivocal declaration of fealty to political and cultural pan-Islamism. It opens with the statement that his mission as an agent of the press is the promotion of "Islamic culture," with Islam standing as his sole patrimony, and political discussions proceeding solely from a pan-Islamist framework:

Saja akan siarkan kesenian Islam, peradaban Islam dan Cultuur Islam, Tarichnja dan Tarich orang besar-besarnja... Kalau pada soeatoe ketika, terpaksa s.k. ini membitjarakan Politiek, maka ia akan berdasar kepada Politiek... "Pan-Islamisme." [...] "Abi l-Islamoe la-aba li siwaahoe,/Izaf tacharoe bi Qaisin au Tamimi" [The original Arabic is accompanied by his own translation into Malay]: "Kebangsaan saja Islam, tidak ada kebangsaan saja selain itoe. Meskipun mereka-mereka berbangga2 dengan toeroenan Qais atau Tamim."^{cclxvi}

I will spread Islamic Art, the Literature of Islam and the Culture of Islam, its History and the History of its Major figures... If at a certain point this paper were forced to discuss politics, then it would be on the basis of a politics of "pan-Islamism." "Abi l-Islamoe la-aba li siwaahoe, Izaf tacharoe bi Qaisin au Tamimi"—[Arabic: My nationality [or: patrimony] is Islam, none other than [Islam]. Though others would pride themselves with the lineage of Qais or Tamim.]^{cclxvii}

As developed throughout his writing in the journal *Pedoman Masyarakat* from 1936-1937, accompanied at times with elaborate spreads on the Egyptian royal family and speculative articles on the candidates for a potential caliphate among the extant monarchs of the Middle East,^{cclxviii} Hamka assumes for an Islamic ecumene an “inevitable” pan-Islamist polity, derived from the fifth pillar of Islam (the Hajj pilgrimage to Mekkah).^{cclxix} Oriented towards developments in the Middle East, Hamka argues against the notion that pan-Islamism was destroyed with the first World War and with the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire, prophesying instead that a pan-Islamic political entity is the inevitable telos of provisionally secular, regionalist and nationalist movements in Turkey and Arabia. The extension of his logic to insular Southeast Asia—that regional nationalisms inevitably ascent to a broader pan-Islamism—hearkens back to the projection of *Jawi* ecumenism conceived by a preceding generation:

*Pendirian jg. meletakkan ke Islaman dimoeka lebih dari segala2nja ini, menghendaki leboernja Pan Arabia,—sebagai dikehendakinja leboernja djoega Pan Indonesia dan Pan lain2 djoega,—didalamsoeatoe Pan-Besar, ja’ni Pan-Islamisme, sehingga lenjap pengemoekaan ke Araban, ke Indonesiaan, ke Toerkian ensoport,—meninggi dari **Kebangsaan~Besar, Kebangsaan~Moeslim** itoe.*^{cclxx}

The theory that places Islamization at the forefront transcends each of its parts, wants an alloy of Pan-Arabia, —just as an alloy is wanted of Pan-Indonesia and other “Pan” movements—within a greater Pan-Islamism, until the fronts of Arabism, Indonesianism, Turkism, and so forth, merge and ascend to a **larger nationalism, a Muslim nationalism.**^{cclxxi}

Whereas the Dutch Islamicist Snouck interpreted the decline of the Ottoman Empire, and the rise of Pan-Arabism and Turkish nationalism, as signs of pan-Islamism’s political failure (and purely symbolic existence), Hamka suggested around the time of Snouck’s death (also featured in the pages of *Pedomas*) that these were merely intermediate stages towards a larger political unity. By Hamka’s imagining, a fated parallelism bound political developments in the Middle East with the Islamic communities of insular Southeast Asia, in this ascent towards a greater unity. As Hamka wrote of the common grounds of this imagined community:

Ibnoe Saeed didalam Politieknja; Mas~alah Islam jang pertama, dan mas~alah Arab jang kedoea. Amir Sjakib Afsalan demikian poela; Islam jang pertama dan Soerya jg. kedoea. Saja akan ikoet itoe; Islam jang pertama dan Indonesia jang kedoea.

Ibn Saud in his Politics: [places] questions of Islam first and of Arabs second. Amir Shakib Afsalan does this accordingly: Islam first and Syria second. This is what I shall follow: **It is Islam that comes first and Indonesia that comes second.**^{cclxxii}

In the close readings that follow, I examine how diglossic patterns in two of Hamka's romanized, Malay adaptations of narratives from Arabia and Egypt (published in 1932 and 1936) evince his stated aim (in his inaugural *Pedomas* editorial) to "spread Islamic Art, the Literature of Islam and the Culture of Islam, its History and the History of its Major figures"—to reconcile, in other words, a *jawi* identity with a local, romanized print-culture. The first adaptation examined, *Laila Madjnoen*, rewrites the classical Arabic love story of the Umayyad-era poet Qays, rendered mad (Ar. *Majnun*) when his beloved Layla is promised to another in marriage. It was an adaptation advertised as the faithful translation of an authentically "Arab Tale" [*Ceritera Arab*], though Hamka's work was an evident expansion of the abridged (two-page) version on which it was based.^{cclxxiii} The second work examined, *Dibawah lindoengan Kābah* [*Beneath the Sanctuary of the Kābah*], was inspired by the Egyptian author Manfalūṭī's translation of French novels and serially appeared in the pages of *Pedoman Masjarakat* (beginning in 1936) before its publication with *Balai Poestaka* (in 1937).^{cclxxiv} I demonstrate how an enduring projection of *jawi* identity subtends the bilingual patterns (between Arabic and Malay) in his literary work.

Though the text of *Laila Madjnoen* at times reads like a stark exchange in dialogue, interwoven with translations of Arabic poetry attributed to the poet-protagonist Qays, it is in the anthropological or ethnographic aspect of the writing where the narrative calls greatest attention to its status (or pretension) as an authentic "translation," usually by footnoting (Latin-script transliterated) Arabic terms.^{cclxxv} In the opening pages of the text, the narration first slows to translate the exotic, to adapt to a local sensibility and language the foreignness of the desert

landscape: to name (by reference to Indies foliage) the precise shade of the purebred Arabian horse on which the protagonist rides, to translate elements of his desert costume, and to relish in the exoticism of his features-- his thicker lashes and strong profile-- before moving to Laila's "typically Arab" feminine features, a moon-shaped face and dark hair contrasting her pale skin.^{cclxxvi} The Malay narrative again breaks into bilingualism and transliterated Arabic with the engagement rites of the female protagonist, offering Malay translations of stock, Arabic phrases of hospitality (and emphasizing in an explanatory footnote the "Islamic duty" of unquestionably honoring a guest for three days, before inquiring after their purpose).^{cclxxvii} The text reaches a descriptive crescendo with another ethnographic interlude, as the narration slows to translate for a local audience the details of Laila's tragic wedding, with the customary isolation and preparation of the bride, the collection of the "*walimatul 'urs*" (Arabic for tools or possessions of the bride and groom), and the grand procession of slaves and horses bearing the "*sukduf*" (Arabic for "bridal carriage") to Laila's groom.^{cclxxviii}

Also calling attention to the position of the narrator (or author) as an ethnographic guide to the Malay reader are phrases in which the narrator draws attention to the limits of his own translation. Without depicting or expressing the exact exchange of the two ill-fated protagonists, Laila and Qays, in their first amorous profession, the narrator suggests his unique access to an original Arabic narrative through bilingual patterns that compare an indescribable landscape to a love that cannot be conveyed in speech:

"The inconstant winds of Arab lands [are] at times intense and scorching, at times of *indescribable* cold-- like a *samum* [*Ar.* sandstorm] wind during the season of *shaif*, [*Ar.* Summer, footnoted in the Malay original: "musim panas"] became like love's raging fire between those two youths."

"If the vast and strange^{cclxxix} natural beauty of the desert became poetry and melodious speech to them, **none know its sweetness and pleasure but those who have also grown accustomed to life observed among the Arabs.**"

(My translation, emphasis added)

*“Hawa jang tiada tetap ditanah 'Arab-- kadang2 panas amat terik dan kadang-kadang dingin **tiada terperikan**—serta angin **samum** jang panas dimusim **shaif** (musim panas) itu mendjadikan api pertjintaan diantara kedua anak muda itu bertambah berkobar-kobar.”*^{cclxxx}

*“Kalau keindahan 'alam jang luas dan gadgil dipadang pasir itu menjadi sja'ir dan utjapan jang amat merdu baginja. Ta' ada jang tahu akan manis dan lazatnja, **melainkan orang jang telah biasa menjelidiki kehidupan bangsa 'Arab djua.**”*^{cclxxxi} (Emphasis added)

These diglossic patterns in the prose perform a kind of narrative subordination to an authoritative language, a sacralized language beyond translation, suggesting the subordination of (narrated) Malay to (untranslated) Arabic.

With the introduction of the poet-protagonist Qays, the narration suggests a moral equivalence between the protagonist's religious devotion, moral rectitude, and linguistic purism, defending through his poetry the prophet's native tongue, defending the Arabic language against the onslaught of “Persian” and “Roman.” In an early dialogue between Qays and Laila, the protagonist claims that his poetry exists to defend the prophet's language from an external menace:

Bukankah adinda telah mendengar kabar djua, bahwa Chalifah sekarang ini amat kuat menjuruh ra'jatnja memperinggi dan memperdalam ilmu, istimewa pula ilmu bahasa sebagai sja'ir, mengarang, berpidato? Tentu adinda telah ma'lum djuga, bahwa bangsa kita merasa amat takut akan rusak bahasanja, karena sekarang kita tleah banjak bertjampur dengan bangsa Parsi dan Rum jang baru ta'luk kebawah hukum Islam. Kerusakan itulah jang amat didjaga oleh Chalifah. Oleh karena itu sekarang ini kakanda sedang bergiat mempeladjari bermatjam-matjam ilmu bahasa, terutama ilmu mengarang sja'ir.”^{cclxxxii}

Haven't you heard the news, my love, that the Calif, now of utmost strength, has ordered his subjects to advance and deepen their knowledge, especially in the science of language, in poetry, composition, and rhetoric? Surely you understand that our people fear the destruction of our language, as we have already much mingled with the Persians and the Romans, who have only just become subject to Islamic governance. Against this destruction the Calif guards, and for this reason do I study the various sciences of language, and above all, the craft of composing

poetry.^{cclxxxiii}

One might read this passage of Hamka's for the complexity of his own position—less as a statement about the historical “Arabic” of the Hijaz, than as an expression of contemporary anxieties regarding the provenance and prospects of an Arabized East Indies Malay during the time of this translation (in 1932): “our people fear the destruction of our language, as we have already much mingled with the Persians and the Romans [...].”

Hamka's second major fictional work during this period (1936-7), *Dibawah lindungan Kābah* [*In the Sanctuary of the Kābah*], is a narrative like *Laila Madjnoen* set in the Hijaz, but in the wake of the Saudi takeover from Sherif Husein (after which Malay pilgrimages to Mecca dramatically rose, and about which Hamka wrote several articles sympathetic to the Saudis in the 1930s). The narrative traces the religious pilgrimage of a despairing protagonist from Sumatra to Mecca, as its author experiments with a series of frame narratives (and epistolary passages), adding suspense to an otherwise familiar, stock plot of a still-born love affair between an impoverished and devout protagonist and the unattainable object of his affections (again in the melodramatic style of rantau Malay novels). As in *Laila Madjnoen*, Hamka here employs his fiction to launch a reformist social critique, antagonizing the materialism of a preceding generation that fails to recognize an egalitarian ideal, found only (according to Hamka's fiction) “in the shadow of the Ka‘bah.”^{cclxxxiv} The strangely precipitous conclusion of the tale ends with the illness and premature death of the protagonist and his beloved, in the midst of the protagonist's pilgrimage rites, and in a passage that describes the site of the holy pilgrimage as a utopian space that is at once reified and otherworldly: an egalitarian, religious cosmopolis—an alternative to the materialism and provincial class-consciousness of the protagonist's native Sumatra.^{cclxxxv}

The climax and denouement of Hamka's narrative coincides with a greater incursion of references to Arabic language terms, but instead of appearing ethnographic in character, the writing at times appears religiously *didactic* with these diglossic patterns. Although the narrative's focus on the protagonist's pilgrimage rites includes basic Arabic religious references that remain untranslated and unexplained, suggesting a presumed correligiousity between the narrator and his audience where the most elementary aspects of the pilgrimage are concerned, the narrative nonetheless posits a knowledge distinction, an epistemological difference, between the narrator and his audience by footnoting, parenthetically remarking upon or elucidating certain details and locations of pilgrimage rites introduced by Arabic terms.^{cclxxxvi} As with *Laila Madjnoen*, the coincidence of religiosity and access to a sacralized language is thereby presumed and embedded in the narrative. An implicit difference in authority and status—between the narrator (having experienced the privilege of the Hajj), and the inexperienced reader—is thus reinforced by diglossic patterns in the text. As in *Laila Madjnoen*, the strength of the text *as a contemporary social critique* borrows its moral authority from this presumed coincidence (as presented in the aforementioned quotation from *Laila Madjnoen*) between mastery of Arabic as a devotional language, and access to the traditions of moral right as represented by the narrator's linguistic affiliation to the prophet and his native Hijaz.

After devoting greater attention in 1937 to the question of leadership for a pan-Islamic polity, Hamka's editorials on the relationship between Islam and Nationalism in 1938-9 assume a more local scale, a more national (Indonesian) orientation. Although he continues to characterize nationalism as subordinate to Islam, he nonetheless positions Islam and nationalism in less antagonistic terms, as the project of a political (as opposed to religious) pan-Islamism loses favor in his writings. In the same year that Hamka commends the decision to employ the Indonesian

language as an official language of parliament—for official use in the political sphere—and to laud the upholding of the Indonesian language as a language of unity for the nationalist cause, Hamka begins to assume the position that there is no conflict between Islam and Nationalism—merely a difference between “authentic” nationalism, and a false one based on pre-Islamic factionalism, particularly “yg. bertjap ‘kedjawaan’” [“those of a Javanese mold”].^{cclxxxvii} He concludes, “*pada hakikatnja, tidaklah ada pertentangan diantara Nasional dengan Islam, tidaklah ada pertentangan diantara pohon dengan ranting, sebab Nasionalisme itoe adalah salah satoe dari ranting2-nja agama Islam.*” [“In truth, there is no conflict between the National and Islam, just as there is no conflict between the tree and its branch, for Nationalism is one among the branches of the Islamic faith.”]^{cclxxxviii}

Hamka’s literature appears to mirror this evolution in his politics in the 1930s, moving from a pan-Islamic emulation of developments in the Middle East and the Hijaz to political projections of a more local, proto-national scale. Hamka’s novel *Tenggelamnja Kapal Van der Wijck* [*The Sinking of the Van der Wijck Ship*], which began to appear in the pages of *Pedoman Masyarakat* in 1938, evinces this increasing orientation towards a proto-nationalist, Indonesian audience—but in a prose form that depends on a prophetic (rather than purely progressive) temporal sensibility. In *Tenggelamnja Kapal Van der Wijck* (based on an Arabic translation of Alfonse Karr’s *Sous les Tilleuls*), bilingual patterns depend less on the translation of Arabic to Indonesian/Malay, and more on the translation or elucidation of the regional Minang dialect into Indonesian.^{cclxxxix} When compared to his earlier prose works, Hamka moves in scale and linguistic focus from the transcontinental pan-Islamic (with *Laila Majnoen* and *Lindoengan Kabah*) towards the national, or intra-national (with *Van der Wijck*). This shift in orientation is ushered into the text with the introduction of *Van Der Wijck*’s bi-ethnic protagonist: half-

Makassarese (from the island of Sulawesi), half Minang (from Sumatra), he finds himself both linguistically alienated and ethnically orphaned by the conflicting traditions of the matriarchal Minang and patriarchal Makassarese, and shelters in the promise of the national, in the emerging contours of the nationalist movement as an emigré (or “internal pilgrim”^{ccxc}) in Java, writing in Indonesian Malay (rather than in the regional Minang dialect), and becoming a leading member of the “*Club Anak Sumatera*” [The Children of Sumatra Club]-- a name which evokes the historical, Jong Soematanen Bond, a proto-nationalist Sumatranese youth movement that famously promoted the Malay language and its literature as a unifying force for an emerging Indonesia in the 1920s.^{ccxc}

Although Hamka borrows central plot elements and epistolary passages from Manfalūṭi/Karr, Hamka adds in *Van der Wijck* a new frame narrative on the ethnic origins of his protagonist, and embeds in his Malay prose Minang proverbs and *pantuns* (poems), along with extended ethnographic passages that translate and critique hereditary Minang traditions for an intra-archipelagan (Indonesian) audience. When compared to the French original (Karr’s *Sous les Tilleuls*) and Manfalūṭi’s Arabic translation (*Majdūlīn*), it becomes apparent that the biethnic protagonist (and “internal pilgrim”) is Hamka’s innovation, and is consistent with a number of his other works from this period. Jeffrey Hadler observes this pattern in another slightly later work by Hamka, *Merantau ke Deli* (1940), in which the mixed-race protagonist originates from Mandailing with a Minang mother. Having traced the protagonist’s assimilation into Malay (losing his regional Minang accents) with the progression of the text, Hadler concludes: “For Hamka, the concept of nationalism and of ‘Indonesia’ meant freedom not from the Dutch, but from [the regional] Minangkabau.”^{ccxcii} Hadler in part bases his argument on Hamka’s own writing in the preface to his work *Merantau ke Deli*:

There eventually developed a new generation which was called *anak Deli* [a child of

Deli]; and this *anak Deli* was a bud which blossomed splendidly in the development of the Indonesian people. The father of an *anak Deli* would originate from Mandailing, but his mother was a Minangkabau. The mother of an *anak Deli* was a woman from Kedu, and his father a Banjar.... The outlook of this [new] man was free, and his Malay was fluent, having lost the accents of the place of his ancestors; eventually he made it the foundation stone in the building of the new *Bahasa Indonesia*.^{ccxciii}

Advanced through bilingual passages, the ethnographic aspect of Hamka's *Van der Wijck* at key moments of the plot gives his adaptation a telos or trajectory that is entirely absent from its Arabic and French counterparts. The innovations of this novel, with its ethnographic descriptions of Sumatra, and its references to Minang within the largely Malay narrative, introduce to a broader Indonesian readership a eulogistic reference to regional Sumatranese poetry, while launching a scathing critique of matriarchal North Sumatranese customs. These innovations embed in *Van der Wijck* a thread of continuity with Hamka's earlier work: a critique of Minang custom or *adat* (especially matrilineal traditions of inheritance and filiation), through the dramatized contrasts between a decadent aristocracy and a righteous, religious protagonist. In his earlier work, and particularly in *Dibawah lindungan Kābah*, the Hijaz was presented as an egalitarian site for a *jawi* ecumene, as a utopian alternative to the classist provincialism of the Minang; the site of sanctuary in this later work, however, is local—existing on a more circumscribed, proto-national horizon. It is in this context that the reflexive dimension of Hamka's concluding chapter (in *Tenggelamnja Kapal van der Wijck*) supplies his work with its greatest innovations. Hamka's linguistic orientation towards the national (or proto-national) reaches its climax in this final chapter, in which the beginnings of modern Indonesian literature are self-referentially depicted, with the literary success of Young Sumatranese writers in Java, in a movement where the protagonist emerges as a chief literary figure, famed for his novel *Terusir*—a title eponymous with one of Hamka's own fictional works. (The reflexive portion included at the end of *Tenggelamnja Kapal Van der Wijck*—the account of a Sumatranese émigré

community that pioneered the formation of Indonesian literary modernism—is consistent with the narrative espoused by Hamka in his journalistic writing during the 1930s and early 1940s.)^{ccxciv}

In the foregoing analysis, I demonstrated how the translation and accommodation of *jawi* identity into romanized print culture was implied through the bilingual patterns of Hamka's texts, in which the contours of pan-Islamist, pan-Malay religious belonging were suggested through the depiction (in Hamka's earlier works) of an Arabic language upheld as a religious acrolect. Despite Hamka's shift in orientation between *Ka'abah* and *van der Wijck*, from a pan-Islamist affiliation with the Hijaz to an intra-insular, proto-national Indies setting, one might see a continuity in his writing, inscribing within both works a temporal scheme that appears prophetic or messianic rather than merely progressive. Benedict Anderson concludes that the literarily reflected reapprehension of time as radically progressive and historical accompanied the rise of vernacular print-languages (and secularism) in Europe, but to read Hamka's work in the case of the Dutch East Indies, not only was the genre of the novel privileged in print (for its emulation of European literary forms),^{ccxcv} but a regime of temporal discipline—of punctuality, temporal quantification, and progressive, calendrical time—was didactically inscribed into the *Balai Pustaka* novel. As Jedamski observes in Dutch colonial archives on the redaction of vernacular *Balai Pustaka* novels, this temporal emphasis was seen to complement other forms of colonial didacticism and advertisement, as part of a developmentalist project for constructing an indigenous literary modern: conspicuous product placement (aspirin, for example, in *Salah Asoehan*) and allegedly instructive examples of financial management.^{ccxcvi} As Jedamski writes of *Balai Pustaka*'s redactive role for inscribing “Western concepts of cognition” in the vernacular, Malay-Indonesian novel:^{ccxcvii}

Just as certain social roles were defined, whole cognitive concepts were transferred. The

Western understanding of time was gradually superimposed on the traditional perception of it. Manifested in watches and alarm clocks, the idea of punctuality slowly led to fixed working and opening hours, demanded rigid discipline and suggested strictly scheduled days and future planning.^{CCXCVIII}

In Hamka's writing for *Balai Pustaka*, I would conjecture that this form of temporal marking is emphasized through the epistolary format of his novels (particularly in *Ka'abah* and *van der Wijck*); although the substance of the letters in his novels are often borrowed or adapted from the French originals (*Paul et Virginie*, *Sous les Tileuils*^{CCXCIX} through Arabic translations), the temporal synchronicity of narrative events is emphasized through this epistolary format and becomes central to the tragic direction in which Hamka's (often melodramatic) work is taken. This, I would argue, is among the innovations of his Malay adaptations from the French and Arabic versions.

In the adaptation of a narrative marked by an epistolary format and temporal progression, one can read within Hamka's work a second innovation, in his synthesis of a self-consciously measured, temporal progression with a telos of divine fulfillment in *Ka'abah*, and with the re-inscription of a known historical tragedy in a narrative temporality of prophesy and fulfillment in *van der Wijck*. *Tenggelamnja Kapal van der Wijck* thus performs in Malay narrative not only the (aforementioned) defense of Arabic as an enduring religious acrolect in the Indies; it also, within the progressive temporalities inscribed in its form, and through its communal depiction of Malayophone, Indies pilgrims in the Hijaz, accommodates an enduring cosmological vision and inscribes in its narrative the traces of a pan-Islamic *jawi* identity. Temporal progressions are marked in *Dibawah lindungan Ka'abah* [*In the Sanctuary of the Ka'abah*] through quantifiable epistolary chronotopes for measuring and marking the passage of time: the delays in sending and receiving news of crucial plot events (between characters at the center and periphery of the narrative, between the Hijaz and the Indies) are crucial to the tragedy of the novel, denoting

within the narrative fiction a sensibility of synchronous time (a concept Anderson alludes to), but a profane synchronicity that dramatizes the disjuncture between the Indies (the site of the beloved) from the Hijaz (where the protagonist/narrator resides, and where a final fulfillment beyond death is attained). The novel, in other words, renders in tragic form the contrast between a profane, synchronous temporality (marking the insurmountable separation of the protagonist from his beloved) and the more utopian and eternally sacred space of Mecca (where, in a final, dream-like sequence, enabled in part through the protagonist's spatial proximity to the sacred at the moment of his death in Mecca, the two lovers unite, accross a profane and earthly division between the Indies and the Arabian Peninsula).

In Hamka's subsequent work, *Tenggelamnja Kapal van der Wijck*, a novel initially appearing in serialized form (in the Islamic periodical *Pedoman Masjarakat* before its ultimate publication and promotion by *Balai Pustaka*), he again inscribes a prophetic sensibility within a temporally progressive narrative. If this liminal, temporal synthesis, however, is dramatized in *Ka'abah* through the novel's combination of epistolary progress within an inherently sacred (atemporal) space (the Hijaz), an inverse movement is achieved in *Kapal van der Wijck* through the coincidence of profane space (setting his narration in the Indies) and sacralized time—with his rewriting of a known tragedy through a narrative economy of prophesy and fulfillment. Published in 1938 (and coinciding with a major turn in his politics, in which he publicly disavowed the possibility of a *political* pan-Islamist state), the fictional setting of his later work marks his turn to a more circumscribed (effectively proto-Indonesian) geography, focusing on the Dutch East Indies, and projecting through reference to the novel's eponymous subject an intra-insular communalism, born of a collective tragedy: the sinking of the *van der Wijck* passenger ship between the islands of Java and Sumatra (in 1937). In making a contemporary tragedy the

telos of the narration, and in fictionally dramatizing the sinking of the *van der Wijck*, he effectively transfers the tragedy from its instantiation within a historical past, from a temporally bound, historical event, into an emblematic tragedy enshrined in collective, popular memory, in the form of a popular romance. In suspending the contemporary tragedy until the novel's final pages, Hamka transfers the event from a historical temporality into one of prophesy and fulfillment—a temporality that depends for its success on the foreknowledge of his audience of the tragedy, a temporality in which his immediate audience, by virtue of belonging to a local, communal print-readership contemporaneous to the sinking of the *Van der Wijck*, can participate. In this regard, the authour fulfills (by *Balai Pustaka*'s evident standards) the performance of the literary modern, in adapting for an early twentieth century, Malay Indies readership a temporal economy inspired by eighteenth and nineteenth century French novels (introduced to the authour in Arabic translation); but, by these innovations, he incorporates within a temporally progressive literary form a narrative economy of prophesy and fulfillment uniquely relevant to a proto-national Indies audience in the mid-1930s, a decade that coincided with the ascendant tide of Indonesian nationalism. In this respect, I would argue, Hamka's *Van der Wijck* is an example of the proto-nationalist, Indonesian novel that indeed builds on the reflexivity of the rising journalistic press to the novel's form, but (contrary to Anderson's assumptions and claims) proceeds not merely through a secular, progressive, historical temporality; in Hamka's proto-nationalist novel, the traces of a cosmological sensibility, the attribution of events to providence, a temporal economy of prophesy and fulfillment, feature prominently in the text.

To read these novels by Hamka, in other words, it appears that the proto-nationalist Indonesian novel was a form sufficiently labile to accommodate the demands of conflicting ideological interests, to inscribe the traces of competing languages and scripts (namely, Latin and

Arabic), and yet to incorporate an enduring cosmological sensibility (imbued within the form by among its most religiously devout, pan-Islamist authors in 1930s Indonesia). This exemplifies where Anderson is correct, in the projection of nationalism through the complementary forms of newsprint and the novel, while demonstrating the limits of his premises—given that Arabic (in Hamka’s writing) was upheld as an inherently sacred language in the Indies (and later in post-independence Indonesia). In other words, these representational sites for imagining the nation were not merely literary inventions in vindication of a lost religious cosmology, eroded through the decline of a devotional (Arabic) language, but viewed by among Indonesia’s most religiously devout innovators as a medium through which the enduring contours of religious identity could be re-invented within an ascendant print-language and print-market.

Hamka’s ideas for the accommodation of nationalism, and particularly secular-nationalism, come to be developed in the 1939-40 period with the continuation of a series of articles on “*Islam dan Kebangsaan*” [Islam and the Nation] in which he confirms the publication’s outright abandonment of pan-Islamism as a *political* idea, and develops an Islamic defense of the Indonesian nationalist movement under Sukarno and Hatta. Writing on behalf of the publication’s editorial staff, Hamka confirms the change in his ideas on the relationship between pan-Islamism and nationalism as no longer one of antagonism, but rather of accommodation:

Orang lihat haloean kita berubah. Dari seorang jang bentji segala tjap kebangsaan, kita berpoetar mengatakan bahwa kebangsaan itoe ada dalam Islam, bahwa pekerdjaan2 jang diatoer oleh koempoelan hari ini, ialah pekerdjaan2 fardoekifajah.^{ccc}

People have seen us change our course. From those who despise every imprint of nationalism, we have turned to express that nationalism exists within Islam, that the work undertaken by the collective of today is the work of *fardoe kifajah* [compulsory knowledge for an Islamic community, literally (in Arabic): the obligation of sufficiency].

ccci

Hamka’s defense of nationalism as an ideology, further developed in the editorial “*Tjinta Bangsa*

dan Tanah Air” [Love of Country and Homeland],^{ccci} identifies the Prophet as a nationalist or protonationalist figure, with evidence from *Hadith* sources of his attachment to his homeland in the Hijaz, and his pride in his lineage from Abdoel Moethalab. In his most elaborate defense of nationalism as an emanation of the Islamic faith, Hamka cites from *soerat Roem* in the Qur’ān,^{ccciii} to draw a conclusion that resonates with Bamba’s claim of religious unity transcending racial difference:

Perlainan bahasa dan koelit, boekanlah barang jang dapat dihapoeskan, karena timboelnja perbedaan bahasa dan koelit, menimboelkan soeatoe poeak, minimboelkan natie. [...] Semoeanja diakoei oleh agama Islam. [...] Pada sisi Allah, tidak berbeda diantara ‘Adjam dan Arab, diantara jang berkoelit poetih dengan jang berkoelit hitam. Jang tinggi disisinja hanjalah jang taqwa kepadanya.^{ccciiv}

The difference of language and skin is not something that can be erased, for the appearance of these differences makes evident a tribe, makes evident a nation. [...] All of this is recognized by the faith of Islam. [...] By God, there is no difference between ‘*Adjam* and ‘*Arab* [between those who speak Arabic as a maternal language and those who do not], between those of white skin and those of black skin. The highest by His side is only who to Him is most devoted.^{cccv}

Hamka’s use of the Arabic term “devoted” (“*jang taqwa*”) mirrors that used by Bamba (*atqā*, most devout) to express this equality between ‘*Adjam* (non-Arab) and ‘*Arab* in his poem *Massālik al-Jinān*. (Both Bamba’s poem and Hamka’s article, in this regard, evoke the following Qur’anic verse:

وَجَعَلْنَاكُمْ شُعُوبًا وَقَبَائِلَ لِتَعَارَفُوا إِنَّ أَكْرَمَكُمْ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ أَتْقَاكُمْ

For we have made of you tribes and people, that you may know and to one another be known, for indeed the greatest among you by God’s grace are the most devout.^{cccvii}

It is a Qur’anic verse which Hamka regularly uses to emphasize an egalitarianism that subtends the faith, but also (here) to advance the cause of Indonesian nationalism:

*Disini tegas sekali bahwa kebangsaan itoe diakoei Toehan, bahkan **didjadikan** Toehan. [...] Kebangsaan itoe diakoei oleh Islam, dengan sabda Toehan: “Wa ja’alna kum shu’uub(an) wa*

qaba'il(a) li ta'arafu, inna akramakum 'aind allah atqaakum" (al-hijrat 13)" [His accompanying translation into Indonesian of the verse reads:] "Dan kami djadikan kamoe bersjoe 'oeb (berbangsa2) dan berqabilah2 ialah soepaja kamoe kenal antara satoe pihak dengan jang lain. Tetapi jang semoelia2 kamoe pada sisi Allah, ialah jang paling taqwaa kepadanja."^{cccvi}

Nationalism is acknowledged by Islam, with the utterance of God: "*Wa jālnākum shuūban wa qabāila li tāārafū, inna akrāmakum 'aind Allah atqākum*" (al-Hijrat verse 13). "And we have made of you peoples and tribes that you may know one another, and to one another be known, for indeed the greatest among you by God's esteem is among you the most devout."^{cccviii}

Hamka derives the task of establishing Indonesia as a nation on an international stage from the imperative, reflexive verb *tāārafū*, of "knowing and being made known" among nations, suggesting that the pursuit of a national politics of recognition is implicit in the religious faith. He makes clear, however, that his earlier notion that Indonesian nationalism was merely an intermediate phase towards an ultimate, pan-Islamic entity was impractical (beginning with the editorial "*Islam & Nationalism*," 16 Maart 1938 no. 11):

Agama Islam boekan soeatoe bangsa, agama Islam adalah kepertjajaan (itikad) jang boleh atau hendaklah dipeloek oleh segala manoesia, walaupoen apa bangsanja. Perkataan orang mengatakan "Bangsa Islam" tidak pernah terdengar, Qoer'an atau Hadist djoega tidak mengatakan bahwa Islam itoe bangsa. Tegasnja tiap2 pemeloek Islam itoe telah leboer bangsanja, kalau dia Arab tidak Arab lagi, kalau dia Persi tidak Persi lagi, tetapi mendjadi bangsa baroe, jaitoe bangsa Islam. Perkataan ini tidak pernah terdengar didalam Qoer'an atau Hadist, lebih2 lagi dizaman sahabat dan Chalifah2 jang datang dibelakangnja."^{cccix}

The religion of Islam is not a country, the religion of Islam is a belief (*itiqād*) that may be or shall be embraced by all manner of humanity, regardless of their nationality. The term that people use "Nation of Islam" was never heard, nor was it stated in the Qur'ān or the Hadith that Islam was a nation. What is clear and explicit is that every adherent of Islam is merged with [literally: dissolved into] his or her country. "If he is Arab, he is no longer Arab, or Persian no longer Persian, but becomes part of a new nation, an Islamic nation." Such statements as these have never been stated in the Qur'ān or the Hadith, not in the era of the prophet's companions, nor during the reign of the Caliphs that succeeded thereafter.^{cccx}

Eschewing pan-Islamism as a political inevitability, Hamka explains that there are two branches or forms of "pan-Islamism." Pan-Islamism as a religious concept, as the symbol or idea of the religious unity of all muslims, of one God, of one *Kiblat*, of one month of fasting, of one final

Prophet, will endure “as long as there are mosque towers to announce the call to prayer” [*“Pan-Islamism jang demikian telah berdiri dan akan tetap berdiri selama-lamanja, selama menara2 masih menjeroekan seroan azan diatas moeka boemi ini”*].^{cccxi} In contrast, pan-Islamism as a political concept remains a dream, an imaginative fantasy, that might have been realized if the world were no longer the world as it is, no longer the present world [*“Tetapi Pan Islamisme dengan artian politiek, adalah satoe mimpi, satoe chajal, jang dapat berdiri, kalau alam boekan alam jang ini lagi”*].^{cccxi}

The arguments presented in this article on the impossibility of political pan-Islamism embodied in a nation-state here recast Islamic community as a collective anti-Imperialism, which thereby allows it to accommodate the more humble objective of a circumscribed nationalism. Not only is pan-Islamism challenged to excess by the fragmentation of Islamic nations under different colonial powers, but those that are newly independent are still too weak, he argues, to rival colonial Europe. Were pan-Islamism to become a political reality, it would be necessary for a newly independent Muslim nation to rival in power an England or a France—to become, in other words an Imperial entity, able to subject and bind other states and peoples to the Caliphate. He mentions the failure of Ottoman Hamidism, in this respect, now cited as a negative example of the subjection of one Muslim state to another, claiming that the rights of one Muslim peoples should not be subordinated to another, as had been the case of Arab subjection to the Ottoman Turks. His argument follows that Imperial interests should not overtake the individual liberties of each Muslim state, but that each Muslim state should struggle to overthrow the now exclusively, non-Muslim empires under which they are subject:

Dizaman dahoeloe, sahabat2 dan oemmat Islam jang dibelakangnja menendoekkan soeatoe negeri dengan maksoed menjiarkan Islam. Jang ditoendoekkan itoe haroes menempoeh salah satoe dari tiga djalan, masoek Islam, atau membajar djaziah dibawah tanggoengan, atau.... perang. Hal jang

demikian tidak dapat dioelang lagi sekarang, karena negeri2 Islam iteoe tidak berkehendak kepada penjiaran penjiaran agama lagi. Jang dikehendaki sekarang ialah hak kemerdekaan tiap2 negeri memerintah negerinja, terlepas dari tangan negeri jang boekan Islam, djanganlah pindah kebawah djadjahan negeri Islam peola, sebagai Arab dengan Toerkie pada beberapa masa jang laloe.^{cccxi}

In a past era, the companions [of the prophet] and the Islamic *umma* [ecumene] behind it occupied a nation with the intention of spreading Islam. An occupied nation had to pursue one of three paths: to embrace Islam, to pay a tributary *Djaziah*, or... to fight. This practice will not be repeated, because the nations of Islam no longer have the willingness [berkehendak] to spread their faith. *What is now wanted is the right of every nation for liberation and self rule, for liberation from the grip of nations that are not Islamic, without forcing the colonial subjection of one Muslim nation to another Muslim nation, as the Arabs had formerly been to the Turks some time ago.*^{cccxiv}

The disenchantment with political pan-Islamism as an imperial ideal in Hamka's writing gives way to the reconfiguration of pan-Islamism as the basis for a common, anti-Imperialist cause across muslim communities. A second analogue in this disenchantment with political, pan-Islamism is the perceived pragmatism of political unity across religious divisions, of religious pluralism within the parameters of a religiously inclusive nationalism:

Jang haroes ditempoeh lebih dahoeloe adalah nasionalisme, jaitoe bergeraknja tiap2 bangsa memperbaiki diri masing2, soepaja dapat kemoeliannja. Dan dalam pada itoe, wadjiblah tiap2 orang Islam beroesaha peola memadjoekan bangsanja. Haroes mereka bersjerikat dengan sebangsanja jang memeloek agama lain didalam mentjapai kemoeliaan tanah airnja, dan haroes poela mereka berserikat dengan bangsa lain jang seagama dengan mereka didalam oerasan bersama-sama. [...] Kita berserikat dengan bangsa Indonesia jang beragama lain dalam oeroesan tanah air, dan dalam oeroesan agama kita pisah dg. mereka.^{cccxv}

What has to be taken up first and foremost is nationalism, that is, the mobilization of every nation in its respective improvement, to attain its own glory. And in that effort, it is the obligation of every Muslim to endeavor in the progress of [his or her] nation. To attain the greatness of their country, they must bind together with those from the same nation of other faiths, and yet must bind themselves to fellow muslims of other nations in the common interests of their faith. [...] We are bound to Indonesians of other faiths in the affairs of our country, and in the affairs of our faith we separate from them.^{cccxvi}

This an accommodation of pan-Islamism to nationalism^{cccxvii} (at times held in tension, in rivalry) that evolves with Hamka's changing language politics—with his changing position on the relationship of Arabic to nationalized, romanized Malay.

The post-colonial reassertion of Arabic: the transnational “unity of script above language and nation”

If Hamka's political views concluded in the pre-war era with an accommodation of secular nationalism, and with the acceptance of nationalised, “Indonesian” Malay as the official language of the political sphere, he nonetheless defended the continued use of Arabic as a devotional, religious acrolect, a language that neither infringes upon the integrity of the nationalist movement nor the complementary spread of the newly re-baptised Indonesian language. Along with his more open accommodation of the Indonesian nationalist cause, Hamka's language politics in 1938 began to focus more strongly on the nationalization of the Malay language. Hamka's praise in 1938 for the establishment of “Bahasa Indonesia” (nationalised Malay) as an official language of parliament,^{cccxviii} and his parallel prescription that the language be enriched by the literature and rhetoric of regional Malay dialects—like his native Minang—suggested the trade off of his promotion of nationalized, romanized Malay:^{cccxix}

Sebeloem kita memindjam atau memperkaja bahasa kita jang moelia dengan bahasa asing, dengan bahasa Arab, Sansekerit, Belanda, Inggeris dan lain-lain, maka didoesoen jang djaoeh dari kota, didalam daerah-daerah yang terpentjil, terdapat beberapa bahasa haloes jang mendjadi toetoer kata tiap hari. [...] Pepatah-pepatah jang berarti, pantoen2 jang dalam maksoednja, jang penuh bersisi kesoesasteraan, boleh dibongkar dari archief “pidato bertagak penghoeloe di Minanagkabau.”^{cccxx}

Before we borrow or enrich our great language with foreign languages, with Arabic, Sanskrit, Dutch, English and others, there exist in villages and orchards far from our cities, in remote regions, several refined languages that are spoken every day. [...] Meaningful proverbs, verse *pantuns* profound in meaning, replete with the traces of literature, revealed in the archives of clerical sermons [pidato bertagak penghoeloe] in Minangkabau [Hamka's native region].^{cccxxi}

Also of note, he assumed a somewhat purist stance in protecting this new (and nascent) language from others deemed “foreign”—with Arabic among the “foreign,” as opposed to his more allegedly *Indonesian* regional dialect “Minang” (a position he revises in the 1950s). Comparing to a young Senghor in 1937,^{cccxxii} who wrote in similar terms of the necessity of “modern” poetry in native African languages, Hamka had insisted that:

Bahasa kita, bahasa Indonesia, jang terambil dari bahasa Melajoe itoe, meskipun kata setengah bangsa lain jang hendak mehinakan kita, boleh dipeladjari doea hari sadja dari djongosnja; adalah satoe bahasa indah, bahasa njanjian dari chattoel istiwaa, bahasa jang sanggoep menja'irkan keindahan alam boeminja, bahasa njanjian dari anak gembala dipadang roempoet jang hidjau [...].^{cccxxiii}

Our language, the Indonesian language, that is taken from Malay, although half of other countries would disdain us, claiming it can be learned in a mere two days from one's houseboy, is a beautiful language, a language of equatorial song, a language that can versify the beauties of the natural world, a language of the songs of herdsman's children in the greenest fields of rice....^{cccxxiv}

By 1940, however, Hamka's editorial writing on the question of language politics appears to shift, as his attention towards moderating, regulating, and defending the use of Arabic for devotional purposes became paramount. With the promotion by the nationalist cause of “Bahasa Indonesia” as a newly vetted language for public address, new divisions had yet to be drawn between its use in the public, political and religious domains. The question of how to licitly accommodate the expanding influence of “Bahasa Indonesia” in the devotional context subsequently became of concern for Hamka, prompted in part by letters addressed to the magazine under his editorship (*Pedoman Masyarakat*) and by his father's writing on the subject.^{cccxxv}

Hamka at this juncture suggested that, although the newly nationalized language was now indispensable for the islamization of Indonesia given its unparalleled rise, and given the relative success of (the more linguistically flexible and thus competitive) Dutch-Christian missions in

Indonesia,^{cccxxvi} the Arabic language continued to be beyond substitution. Although an Imam might translate from Arabic for oral exposition, the text of the Qurān itself must remain untranscribed in romanized Indonesian:

Sekarang tentoe orang akan berkata: “Kita terdjemahkan sadja kedalam bahasa Indonesia jang popoeler!” Bagaimanakan dapat, padahal bahasa Indonesia sendiripoen beloem poela lagi tjoekoep sempoerna, masih menoedjoe perdjalanannja. Terboekti dengan pertemoean Kongres Bahasa Indonesia jg. diadakan orang oentoek meremboek memperkatakan kalimat2 jang haroes dihideopkan atau ditambah sadja dengan bahasa lain. [...]Manakah jang lebih baik kita batja batjaan sembahjang itoe didalam bahasa ‘Arab jang tidak berobah-obah soedah 1360 tahoen lamanja, atau kita batja didalam bahasa jang baroe beroesia 20 tahoen, dan masih didalam ‘membentoek’ djoega lagi?”^{cccxxvii}

Now certainly people will suggest: “Let us simply translate [the Qurān] into the popular Indonesian language!” How is this possible, given that the Indonesian language itself is insufficiently perfect, is still nascent [literally: upon its path]. This was proven with the Indonesian Language Congress that was [implemented] for the discussion of words that have to be revived or added from other languages [lexically enriched from other languages]. Which is better, that we read the reading of prayers in the Arabic language that has for 1360 years remained unchanged, or that we read in a new language a mere 20 years old, that, what more, is still in the process of formation?^{cccxxviii}

In defending the persistence of Arabic as a devotional language to a nationalized public, he maintained that: Qurānic Arabic as a purely scriptural, devotional acrolect could not change the character of Indonesian nationalism, given its status as a non-living (non-spoken) language, even in the diglossic Middle East (where Qurānic Arabic is solely confined to the sacred, scriptural text relative to spoken vernaculars).^{cccxxix} In response to arguments by the Dutch-educated elite against the religious use of Arabic in Indonesia, claiming that it would mean the Arabization of the nation, Hamka claimed: “*bahasa Qoeran sekali-kali tidaklah akan menjebabkan kebangsaan kita berobah*”^{cccxxx} [“Occasional use of the language of the Qurān will not cause our nationalism to change”]. This is a claim that he dramatically altered in the post-independence context.

According to Hamka, in his final arguments in the interwar period, there was no inherent

conflict between Indonesian nationalism and pan-Islamism (as a symbolic religious unity), as there was no conflict between the spread and nationalization of the Indonesian language in Latin script and the status of the Arabic script as a sacred, textual acrolect. In the years directly following independence, however, Hamka modified this position, elaborating a distinct stance on the superiority of Arabic to Latin script, and on the accommodation that should ultimately be struck between Arabic, Indonesian, and the Latin script whose widespread use had become so integral to the formation of Indonesian nationalism, and to the nationalization of Malay. Hamka's more conservative language politics after Indonesian independence, advocating for the widespread return to Arabic script, accompanied Hamka's assertion of the fundamentally Islamic character of Indonesian nationalism and the democratically representative position of Islam in Indonesia. Though complicit in the increasing use of Latin-script in the 1920s and 1930s, Hamka advocated in 1952 the "return" of Indonesian to its "original" and more sacred script, arguing against a linguistic trend ultimately viewed as an ideological incursion from Christian missions and colonial control.

These modified opinions were first presented in a two part series of articles written in response to H. A. Salim's editorials in the Islamic periodical *Hikmah*, first published in 1952 (and reprinted twice in Islamic periodicals in the 1970s and 1980s).^{cccxix} Whereas, in the pre-independence context, he claimed that Indonesian nationalism would remain unchanged by the sustainment of Arabic as a scriptural, religious acrolect (citing the disuse of Qur'anic Arabic for colloquial speech), by 1952 he reversed this opinion, instead insisting that Arabic in Indonesia occupies a *de facto* populist position, given the entrenchment of Islamic religious education in Indonesia's rural regions over more cosmopolitan, urban centers. Furthermore, whereas he expressed pride in the 1930s in the pioneering role of the Sumatranese in the literary formation

of a nationalized, Indonesian language, in his accounts of Indonesian literary history and linguistic change after independence, he characterized the making of romanized Malay as a purely Dutch imposition (through *Balai Pustaka*), without recognizing the trade-off involved for the Minang in the transition to Romanization, or acknowledging his own position as an early *Balai Pustaka* author.^{cccxiii} With the workings of *Balai Pustaka*, now viewed as an exclusively colonial operation, he claimed (in 1952):

Mulailah huruf Arab itu tidak dipentingkan lagi. Sedjak itu kehidupan huruf Arab tidak lagi atas lambukan pemerintah. Kita harus menerima kenyataan bahwa huruf latynlah huruf jang harus kita pakai. Sampai satu waktu ada perasaan, bahwasanja orang jang tidak pandai huruf latyn dipandang buta huruf. [...] Setelah Kongres Pemuda (1928) merasmikan menukar nama bahasa Melayu mendjadi bahasa Indonesia, dengan sendirinja huruf Arab bertambah djauh. [...] Dahulu bahasa Arab adalah bunganja bahasa Melayu. [...] Tetapi bahasa Indonesia Baru bukanlah berbunga bahasa Arab, melainkan bertiang bahasa Belanda, berisa bahasa Belanda.^{cccxiii}

The Arabic script was no longer prioritized or given significance [after *Balai Pustaka* was established]. Since then, the life of the Arabic script was no longer in the domains of the government. We had to accept the reality that Latin script was the script that we were obliged to use—to the point that the sentiment arose that those uneducated in Latin script were deemed illiterate. [...] After the [Nationalist] Youth Congress of 1928 officially changed the name of the Malay language into Indonesian, the Arabic script became even more remote. [...]Historically [before], Malay flourished forth from the Arabic language. But the New Indonesian language grows not from Arabic, but rather is propped up by the Dutch language [by virtue of its script].^{cccxiv}

The process of linguistic nationalization, of which he once wrote with pride, was instead remembered solely as a process of alienation from Arabic as a sacred language, a process of nationalization whose importance appeared a nominal appropriation of trends colonially imposed. By his own purist logic for decolonizing the Indonesian language, for Islamizing Indonesian nationalism and thereby protecting its authentically (religiously) democratic character, he prescribed the following:

Kalau tuan hendak sampai kembali kedalam hati dan perasaan murni mereka

[masjarakat desa, jang masih kuat dengan huruf Arab-nja], peladjarilah kembali huruf Arab. Bukan maksud kita menghapuskan huruf Latyn. Hanja mengingatkan kepada masjarakat jang masih ingin supaya kebangsaan Indonesia ini berdjiwa Islam, djanganlah dilalaikan huruf Arab. Kalau pemerintah menghargai akan djiwa jang tumbuh dalam masjarakat terbesar Indonesia, tentu huruf Arab akan dikembalikannja kedalam tempatnja jang lajak dalam sekolah pemerintah. Kalau tidak, maka hendaklah urus sendiri, bela sendiri dan pertahankan sendiri. [...] Kita menjokong andjuran dari Budiman Hadji A. Salim itu. Supaja huruf Arab djangan dibiarkan terbenam begitu sadja. Bahasa Indonesia Baru jang masih tjanmpur aduk ini, hanjalah "main diatas kulit air."^{»ccccxxv}

If one wishes to return again to the hearts and purest sentiments of the rural masses, revive and teach again the Arabic script. It is not our goal to erase the Latin script, but rather that our society, which still wants an Indonesian nationalism of Islamic spirit, must be made to remember [Arabic]. If the government values this spirit that arises and grows within Indonesia's largest demographic, the Arabic script will undoubtedly be made to return to its deserved place in public, government schools. If not, then we must arrange for this ourselves, defend ourselves, and persist alone. [...] We support the recommendation from the wise Hadji A. Salim. That the Arabic script should not simply be buried and disappear. [Our] new and still disarrayed Indonesian language is mere "play upon the water's surface."^{»ccccxxvi}

Hamka's proposed solution to this problem of a perceived rift between a superficial, newly romanized Indonesian and its more authentic, Arabic source language and script is to return Arabic to its original place as a medium of transcription, at the center of national life, for political public address and public education. In a purist argument that parallels Senghor's post-war defense of French against an internationally ascendant English, Hamka defended nationalized Malay against the (in his view, neocolonial) incursion of loan words from English and other European languages, proposing instead their replacement with Arabic or classical Malay equivalents:

Mengapa mengalah? Bukankah tuan pun tidak mengerti kalau mendengar mereka bertjakap Indonesia ditjampur aduk dengan bahasa asing, sehingga tuan terpaksa melihat kamus? Apakah tuan tidak berniat pula menjuruh mereka melihat Kamus untuk mengetahui bahasa Arab jang tuan pakai? Kalau mereka memakai axioma, pakailah badihi. Kalau mereka memakai relatif, pakailah nisbi. Kalau mereka memakai cunstruktif, pakailah pembangunan.

Sdr. M. Natsir saja lihat insjaf akan hal ini. Dalam statementnja (ma'lumat?) baru-baru ini dia memakai "chithah", jang orang lain biasa memakai plan. Dalam kata lain dia pernah memakai gharizah, sebagai ganti dari instinct.^{cccxxxvii}

Why lose? Is it not true that you [addressing his reader] do not understand [westernized, urban-educated elites] when you hear them muddling Indonesian with foreign languages, to the point that you are forced to consult a dictionary? Why would you not instead intentionally force *them* to consult a dictionary to understand the Arabic that you employ? If they use *axiom*, use *badīhī*. If they use *relative*, use *nisbī*. If they use *constructive*, use *pembangunan*. I have remarked that Mr. M. Natsir [Prime Minister of Indonesia (1950-51)] is himself aware of this problem. In his recent *statement* (*mālumat?*) he used *khīṭa* where others would usually use *plan*. In another example, he has employed *gharīza* in exchange for *instinct*.^{cccxxxviii}

His arguments here (also in contrast to the 1930s, when he designated Arabic a foreign language) characterize Arabic, because of its local precedence to Latin script, as the authentic derivation of the Indonesian language.

Hamka's most politically controversial publication on language politics during this period was written on the occasion of Malaysian independence from Britain (in 1957). Entitled *Kenang-Kenangan ku di Malaya* [My reminiscences of Malaya], he argued in this work that the historical patrimony of *jawi* and "*bahasa melayu*" (the Malay language in Arabic script) joined Insular Indonesia and Peninsular Malaysia (separated by the Dutch and the British in the nineteenth century).^{cccxxxix} Reverting to *jawi* for his publication of this work, Hamka praised the Malaysian example of continued Arabic script use against the negative example of its mass abandonment in Indonesia.^{cccxi} Hamka's unusual decision to publish in Arabic script in Malaysia not only asserted his writing as a positive example to dominant market trends in Indonesia; it further allows him to critique contemporary Indonesian language practice to an audience removed from Indonesia's debates regarding the relationship of Arabic to Malay, to preach to a Malaysian public for whom Arabic and Malay were still unquestionably convergent. Malaysia

offered him the linguistic sanctuary to expand (with potentially greater support) an oppositional idea first published in his 1952 article in Indonesia: “*bahasa Indonesia Baru kian lama kian bersimpang djalannja dengan djiwa Islam. Tidak sebagai bahasa Melayu tatkala masih memakai huruf Arab*” [“the path of the Indonesian language has increasingly deviated from the spirit of Islam. Not like the Malay language [in peninsular Malaya] that still employs the Arabic script”].^{cccxi} Citing the contemporary parameters of debates in Indonesia on the future of the Indonesian language, Hamka made a plea in this publication to his Malaysian audience, asking that they as an example to Indonesia, to counteract the vagrant, “rootlessness” of the Indonesian language.^{cccxi}

Sangatlah diharapkan supaya bangsa Melayu di Malaya tampil pula ketengah gelanggang ini, turut menentukan bukan ditentukan buat menurut! Sebab bilamana perkembangan bahasa Melayu di Indonesia menjadi bahasa Indonesia ini sedang terhuyung-huyung dibawa angin kemana pergi, sekali-kali datang orang dari Malaya membawa bahasa yang indah, terpaksa diterama orang, tak dapat dibantah!”^{cccxi}

It is very much hoped that Malay nationals in Malaya will appear in the middle of this arena, to partake and confirm definitively [these views], not to be given [an Indonesian model] to imitate [*turut menentukan bukan ditentukan buat menurut*]! For, although the Malay language in Indonesia flourished and evolved to become the Indonesian language, it is now beginning to waver beneath a wind that moves in every direction, but once those from Malaya arrive [in Indonesia], bringing with them a beautiful language, [Indonesians] will be forced to accept the indisputable!^{cccxi}

Hamka mentions in conclusion that, though the Malays are considering (in the post-independence context) a transition to Latin script, it was imperative for the Malays to lead the Indonesians in their regional sustainment of this inherently sacred language. (It is telling that subsequent editions of this text (after 1957) were reprinted in Latin script, because the *jawi* version fared poorly in regional print markets, according to the editor’s preface to a later edition.)

Beyond the difference in script, Hamka implies in this document that any difference between the nationalized Malaysian and Indonesian languages is purely nominal and that, by extension, the divisions between peninsular Malaysia and Indonesia (dating from colonial era) were equally nominal.^{cccxlvi} Hamka defends his argument with a *Hadith* [saying] of the prophet, that a common language is the basis of a common patrimony or nation, an idea not expressed by Hamka in these terms before Indonesian independence. The historical fact of a common language in Arabic script in peninsular Malaysia and Western Indonesia was, he argued, grounds for both the continued linguistic convergence of the region (with the return of Indonesia to its Arabic roots), and the preservation of a common patrimony and national purpose (unified by Islam). Islamic unity and nationhood by the prophet's example was not racial, nor bound to colonial divisions, but linguistic, as “*bahasa menunjukkan bangsa*” [a language indicates a nation]:

Kalau kita kembali kepada sabda Nabi Muhammad s.a.w . tentang yang disebut “orang Arab ialah yang memakai bahasa Arab.” Nampak oleh kita betapa luas dada yang dibuka oleh Nabi Muhammad s.a.w. buat menegakkan suatu kebangsaan. Ini dapat kita jadikan teladan baik bagi menegakkan kebangsaan Melayu di Malaya atau bangsa Indonesia di Indonesia. Siapakah bangsa Melayu? Ialah yang berbahasa Melayu. Siapakah bangsa Indonesia? Ialah yang berbahasa Indonesia.^{cccxlvii}

If we return to the statement by the Prophet Muhammad, God's blessings and peace be upon him, that states, “an Arab is one who uses the Arabic language,” it is clear how broadly the heart is opened by the Prophet, God's blessings and peace be upon him, for the foundation of nationalism. From this we can create a model for the formation of a Malay nation in Malaya or an Indonesian nation in Indonesia. Who is of Malay nationality? He who speaks Malay. Who is of Indonesian nationality? He who speaks Indonesian.^{cccxlvi}

As he implied, however, since the difference between between “*bahasa Melayu*” [the Malay language] and “*bahasa Indonesia*” [the Indonesian language] is purely nominal, the political difference between “*kebangsaan Melayu*” [Malay nationalism] and “*kebangsaan Indonesia*” [Indonesian nationalism] is equally arbitrary.

Conclusion:

As A.H. Johns makes clear in his introduction to Qurānic exegesis in Malayophone southeast Asia, six centuries of Islamization in the region corresponded to the adaptation of Arabic script for the transcription of Malay and inaugurated a pattern of diglossia in religious pedagogy, according to which Arabic became “the authoritative language of learning” and Malay “the language of popular exposition.”^{cccclix} The introduction of Latin script and the process of literary romanization nonetheless radically altered the relationship of most Indonesians to their sacred source text: with the rise of romanization, and the rise of literacy in romanized Indonesian, a new stasis or equilibrium had to be negotiated between Malay now transcribed in Latin script and Arabic as a continued religious acrolect (which suffered, by Hamka’s estimation, from lower literacy rates in the post-independence context). A trade off might nonetheless be discerned in the incursion of latin-script into the devotional realm: increased literacy rates meant greater access to the *textual* experience of the Qurān, but its instantiation in latin-script Malay as opposed to *jawi* meant an added degree of removal or alienation from the original text (with the virtually public elimination of *jawi* for a literate populace). This historically aberrant, widespread adoption of romanized script resulted in a linguistic and literary crisis that, Hamka later claimed during the New Order, remained insufficiently resolved by orthodox Muslim scholars, insufficiently addressing the problems integral to a polyglottic *umma* or Islamic ecumene.

The significance of this trend, of this juncture between transnational, Arabic print culture, the legacy of a *Jawi* ecumene, and the rise of romanization in the Indies, pertains to Benedict Anderson’s conclusions on the correspondence between nationalism and print capitalism, and to Michael Laffan’s criticism of Anderson’s secularist model in Indonesia. Taking exception to

Anderson's dismissal of an Arabic textual tradition in insular Southeast Asia, to his conclusion that the romanized print medium in Indonesia merely "replaced a 'dead' language of the divine,"

Laffan contends that:

the arabic script was an important signifier of alterity and nationhood not so readily erased by the modern newspaper. Indeed, in the early twentieth century, the Jawa had recourse to two ecumenical languages –Arabic and Malay—each able to be written in the one sacred script making Anderson's (1991: 36) view, for that time at least, a gross overstatement. [...] Although the *jawi* variant of Malay did ultimately fade in Indonesia, the shift from sacred to vernacular involved more a bifurcation of communalisms than the assertion of one over another. [...] Arabic continues to retain sacred force for all muslims as both revealed and enunciated speech, while Malay continues to unite members of the largest Muslim nation in the world.^{cccl}

Having identified the shift from sacred to vernacular communalisms more accurately—through a linguistic bifurcation rather than an assertion of the vernacular over the sacred—Laffan's examination of this process does not, however, extend beyond the first decades of the 20th century. As such, his observations on the impact of the Arabic script as a "signifier of alterity and nationhood" generally conclude with the decline of the *jawi* press in the 1910s and 1920s, though the specter of a *jawi* (Arabic script) ecumene in insular Southeast Asia nonetheless continued to impact Indonesian print culture (and to rival the projections of secular nationalism in Indonesia) from the 1920s through the contemporary period. There is reason, in other words, for Laffan's conclusions to be extended, beyond the parameters of his own evidence.

The preceding analysis demonstrated that, within a predominantly romanized, Indonesian-Malay print culture (beyond the 1920s), the Arabic language and script retained its significance as an emblem of pan-Malay, Islamic ecumenism, at times rivaling the secular projections of Indonesian nationalism coextensive with the political frontiers of the colonial period. This trend compares to developments in Senegal, given the exemplary characterization in Amadu Bamba's poetry of the Arabic language as a potent symbol of alterity, and of identification with a West African, Islamic ecumene that transcended the colonial divisions of French West Africa.^{cccli} What I identified as a final equilibrium in Senegal between the

devotional sustainment of Arabic in the religious sphere, and the expansion of the French language in the public, political sphere, parallels this “bifurcation” in Indonesia.^{ccclii} In the Indonesian case, I employed Hamka’s writings from the 1920s through the 1950s to examine more closely the traces in Indonesian print culture of this “bifurcation from sacred to vernacular forms of communalism,” and to show the extent to which the Arabic script continued to signify a *jawi* ecumene, after the public decline of Arabic script periodicals in the East Indies in the 1910s.^{cccliii}

Hamka’s fate in the 1960s, however, after politically upholding the Arabic script as a symbol of Islamic transnationalism, suggests the extent of its continued, agonistic status, already visible in the Dutch colonial archives of the nineteenth century. With the evolution of Cold War political divisions and tensions between Malaysia and Indonesia, Hamka later cited his transnational language politics as the basis for his imprisonment by Sukarno in the early 1960s:^{cccliv}

Salah satu dari tuduhan-tuduhan yang dikenakan ke atas saya itu, ialah kerana saya dikatakan terlalu pro Malaysia. Pada waktu itu rejim Sukarno mulai melancarkan konfrontasi kerana menentang pembentukan Malaysia. Padahal bukan begitu. Kemudian timbul pula satu soalan, mengapa bahasa saya terlalu mirip kepada jalan bahasa yang digunakan di Malaysia? Sebenarnya ini semua bukan bererti saya pro Malaysia, tetapi dengan sebab itulah dijadikan sumber tuduhan utama maka saya harus dilemparkan ke dalam penjara.^{ccclv}

One of the accusations against me was that I was considered excessively pro-Malaysia. This was, however, untrue. At that time [leading to my incarceration], the Sukarno regime had begun to launch a politics of confrontation, in opposition to the formation of Malaysia [as an independent state, constructed by the British to offset growing Indonesian claims to regional influence]. Furthermore, a second problem subsequently arose: why did my language too closely resemble the path of language use in Malaysia? In truth, all of this did not mean that I was pro-Malaysia, but it became a primary source of evidence for accusations against me, leading to the conviction that I had to be thrown into prison.^{ccclvi}

Through a violent Civil War in 1965-66, Indonesia shifted from a post-revolutionary regime

under Sukarno to a militarily-backed “New Order.”^{ccclvii} If Hamka was politically rehabilitated after the Civil War, eventually rising to assume the chairmanship of the national Council of Islamic Clerics, others who promoted revisionist ideas about Indonesia’s nationalized language fared less well. If Hamka had once translated Arabian Epics and Arabic language novels into Malay, accused the Dutch colonial press, *Balai Pustaka*, for decoupling Indonesians from their sacred script, and asserted the Arabic script origins of nationalized Malay, the leftist, Javanese novelist Pramoedya Ananta Toer presents the antithesis of Hamka’s cultural politics.

Pramoedya brings to his Indonesian-Malay a different vernacular orientation as a native speaker of the Javanese language (as are the majority of Indonesians). It is an orientation in part evinced through his translation and adaptation of the Javanese Indic Epic into Malay (treated in the subsequent chapter). In further contrast to Hamka’s claims on the displaced script origins of nationalized Malay, Pramoedya de-emphasized the role played by the Dutch colonial press in the formation of a national language. He instead argued that an independent, romanized print-nationalism, pioneered by Indonesia’s Chinese minority, preceded the interventions of the colonial press during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Whereas Hamka, as head of the New Order’s clerical council, nationally broadcast his sermons during a period of heavy media censorship, Pramoedya spent much of the New Order vilified for his leftist politics: incarcerated in the notorious prison camps of Buru island, before being subject to house arrest and to the recurrent prohibition of his many publications. It is in light of these differences that I present Pramoedya’s work in the following chapter.

The leftist intellectual as a “Casteless Brahmin”:

Pramoedya Ananta Toer, socialist-realism, and the mythic-utopianism of language beyond caste

Introduction:

The present chapter considers the extent to which the concerns exhibited in the leftist literature of Sembene—the dignification of a vernacular idiom, the historical contingency of local acrolects, and the problem of a foundational, vernacular press as the basis of an authentically national print culture—might be extended to the Indonesian case, by examining the problem of language ideology in the historical novels of Pramoedya Ananta Toer (focusing primarily on his works *Arok Dedes* and *Arus Balik*). Furthermore, and of particular importance for the field of Indonesian studies, the present chapter considers the extent to which common concerns with historicism, language ideology, and a vernacular idiom might offer a continuity for leftist cultural production, beyond the political decimation of the Indonesian left after 1965.

While considering the transnational influences of socialist-realist^{ccclviii} prose-fiction on the work of Pramoedya, the present chapter, by focusing on the problem of historicism and language ideology in his work, also draws attention to Pramoedya’s innovations in re-reading the particularities of Indonesian national (or proto-national) history within the patterns of socialist-realism as an international literary practice. If Pramoedya in Indonesia has been, like Sembene in Senegal, associated with the practice of socialist-realist fiction in the late 1950s and early 1960s,^{ccclix} and if both demonstrated in their work their dignification of a vernacular idiom and of a foundational, vernacular press independent of a colonial apparatus (with the journalism of Tirta Adi Surjo and the Chinese minority press in Indonesia,^{ccclx} and with the foundation of *Kaddu* in Senegal), Sembene’s generic transference of these concerns to the screen was not matched by

Pramoedya (who was in prison at the time that Sembene began to experiment with the cinematic genre and who, though orally narrating his fiction in prison, exclusively published prose-works). As will be further discussed in the course of the chapter, however, if Pramoedya's literary work remains faithful to the text as a medium, his historical work first transcribed in prison, especially that of *Arok Dedes*, nonetheless also throws into light the limits of the text over the oral narrative.^{ccclxi} Pramoedya's incarceration and Sembene's shift to the screen in the 1960s might initially appear to truncate the basis of their comparison. The parallels between leftist cultural production in Senegal and Indonesia will be extended, however, by examining the work of the filmmaker Sjuman Djaya who, like Sembene, was trained in cinematography in Moscow in the early 1960s.^{ccclxii} This comparison explores the extent to which certain concerns shared by Pram and Sembene—with challenging local status languages, dignifying vernacular literary forms, and with bringing national history to the fore of popular literature—are sustained in the films of Sjuman Djaya after Pramoedya's incarceration as a leftist political prisoner in 1965.

In focusing on the problem of historicism and language ideology across the common historiographic divisions presented by the Indonesian, anti-communist coup of 1965—between the “Old Order” following Indonesian independence, and the “New Order,” during which association with socialist-realism became a political liability—the present chapter considers what it means to defend or promote writing beyond the formal bounds of textual or literary realism and beyond the prescriptions of “socialist” literature, while resuming the concerns presented by both of these ideas in Indonesian literary history. In addition to examining the influences of socialist-realist fiction beyond the work of its most common practitioners within the Soviet Union, I also consider how the practice changes in the hands of an opposition writer, writing beyond the state-centered enshrinement of official myth. The context of Pramoedya's writing as

a political prisoner, from the vantage of political opposition to the Indonesian “New Order” rather than as a “generator of official myths”^{ccclxiii} (as was the case for Soviet, socialist-realist writers enshrining official doctrine) suggests that the context of Pram’s transcription impeded direct allusion to politics (or: the writing of fictional transparently legible as contemporary, political allegory). As such, in examining Pram’s historical fiction based in a more remote, pre-national past, the present chapter considers how the mythic or symbolic register functions in the instantiation (or practice) of socialist realist prose-fiction, in the narration of national history beyond the “generat[ion]of official myth” and beyond a directly allegorical register.

The structure of the present chapter begins with a close reading of Pramoedya’s novelistic adaptation of the Javanese epic *Arok Dedes*, to consider the socialist-realist patterns within Pramoedya’s adaptation and the novel’s passage to literary self-consciousness, both of which underscore the historical contingency of sacralized languages of prestige. (This reading depends heavily on reference to Bakhtin on the generic difference between the epic and the novel, and to Katerina Clark’s re-reading of this generic difference for Soviet, socialist-realist prose fiction.) The second portion of this chapter extends an examination of religious acrolects in Pram’s historical fiction to his novel *Arus Balik*, a narrative on the expansion of Islam in the Indonesian archipelago. The conclusion of the chapter turns to three historical film projects of the Indonesian filmmaker Sjunan Djaya, *Wali Songo*, *Kartini*, and *Budak Nafsu*, to consider certain continuities or common concerns between the historical work of Pramoedya Ananta Toer and the cinematic work (especially the historical films) of Sjunan Djaya (whose films began to be produced in Indonesia after his return from the Soviet Union in 1965).

Pramoedya's Double Informants: "Socialist-Realism" and the Indonesian Legacy of Arok Dedes

Although Pramoedya was a translator of Gorky's works into Indonesian (most importantly Gorky's foundational novel *Mother*),^{ccclxiv} and was familiar with East Asian, American, and Soviet practitioners of proletarian and socialist-realist fiction, to read Pram's most extensive treatment of the concept and its formation,^{ccclxv} socialist-realism offers for Pramoedya an ideological frame through which to reinterpret questions of a fundamentally local and circumscribed relevance, to re-read Indonesian and (proto-Indonesian) literary history for its stillbirths and deficiencies, but also to build a historical portrait of Indonesia's own literary pioneers, suggesting a progressive trajectory for the future of Indonesian letters. To read Pram's writing on socialist-realism and the history of Indonesian literature within this framework, and in light of his ambitions for re-interpreting an Indonesian literary cannon, it appears Pram is perhaps most indebted to Gorky for a formulation which becomes a refrain for Pram on socialist realism: "the people must know their history."^{ccclxvi} In addition to deploying a familiar set of terms for the socialist writer—materialism, dialecticism, historicism—Pramoedya promotes an imperative of descent towards the lowest classes popularized by the phrase "turun ke bawah" ["descend to the low"], a term for which several Indonesianist critics have delineated a Maoist lineage.^{ccclxvii} Although Gorky's work offers Pramoedya the virtue of an interpretive framework from an allegedly non-western, non-colonial source, Pram's attempt to identify socialist realism and proletarian humanism with local Indonesian literary figures whose writing predates or coincides with that of Gorky's suggests that, in Pramoedya's own vision, socialist realism as a historical phenomenon was not a simple matter of cultural borrowing, but one of parallel emergence.

It should perhaps be mentioned that: Pram's post-independence deployment of "socialist realism" for the revision of a local literary cannon at the turn of the twentieth century, away from the workings of the Dutch colonial press *Balai Pustaka* suggests a significant difference between Pram's and Hamka's ideological reading of Indonesian literary history. If, as was detailed in the previous chapter, Hamka (beginning in 1951) publicly vilified the the Dutch colonial press, *Balai Pustaka*, for decoupling Malay writing from its formerly conventional, Arabic script, Pram de-emphasizes the role of the Dutch colonial press entirely, to instead suggest that the origins of national, romanized Malay literature were found with the pioneering (pre-*Balai Pustaka*) print journalism and prose works of such historical figures as Tirta Adi Surjo, a print activist and proto-nationalist upon which the protagonist of Pram's *Buru Quartet* is based (and whose prose works were compiled and edited by Pram in *Tempoe Doeloe*).^{ccclxviii} Pram's locally bound conception of socialist realism, then, was less "a theoretical discussion of this aesthetic program," than "a revision of the literary canon" in Indonesia away from *Balai Pustaka*, to assert (in ways that parallel Sembene's romanized, vernacular print activism with *Kaddu*) the independence of a foundational, romanized print-journalism from which a vernacular, national, literature derives.^{ccclxix}

The peculiar position of Pramoedya's writing in nationalized Malay—initially a regional trade language, transformed into the colonial language of administration before its nationalization as "the Indonesian language" [*"Bahasa Indonesia"*]—is one that has been widely discussed within the critical literature on Pramoedya, whose maternal language, like the majority of Indonesians, is Javanese. Though the implications of the "non-native" status of nationalized Malay will be further examined for verse forms in the subsequent chapter, it should be mentioned here that the question of how nationalized Malay functions for Pramoedya's prose has

been widely scrutinized, with much of the debate focusing on Pramoedya's four novels comprising the *Buru Quartet*, based on the nationalist, Malay language journalism of *Tirto Adi Surjo* at the turn of the twentieth century.^{ccclxx} Benedict Anderson's suggestion that Malay functions for Pramoedya as a "revolutionary language," a linguistic sanctuary against his native Javanese, has proved the dominant point of departure for subsequent comparative studies on nationalism and the Malay novel (Anderson 1990: 199, Cheah 2003, Hitchcock 2010, Gogwilt, 2011).^{ccclxxi} According to Anderson, the hierarchical burdens of the Javanese language, a language with class levels through which a speaker distinguishes between his own status and that of his addressee, has led Javanese writers like Pramoedya to seek refuge in nationalized Malay, to avoid the *choice* between deference and condescension implied by the use of Javanese. Quinn, in his survey of the novel in Javanese, has argued forcefully against this notion that hierarchical elements intrinsic to the language led to the widespread abandonment of Javanese prose writing. He instead highlights that the colonial era invention of Javanese as a "traditional" language, a philological trend also treated by Nancy Florida, meant the increasing conflation of the Javanese language with its allegedly moribund verse forms. It was less the hierarchical dynamic within Javanese than the projected *pastness* of vernacular language poetry that led to the declining prospects of prose writing in Javanese. (Quinn further suggests that the Dutch colonial publishing house, *Balai Pustaka*, in their counter-promotion of Malay prose genres had a not insignificant role in these diminishing returns for Javanese language texts.)

In response to Anderson's reading of Pram's short story "Revenge" ["Dendam"] through which Anderson interprets again the revolutionary "unmooring" of Pramoedya's Malay, Tony Day counters that, although the *Buru Quartet* privileges Anderson's view of the "revolutionary" status of Pramoedya's Indonesian, a broader, comparatist reading of Pramoedya's linguistic

patterns offers striking nuances for and divergences from Anderson's assertion.^{ccclxxii} Day instead suggests that Pram's "example of literary writing in Indonesia," given evidence of its emulation of Javanese literary precedents, "is not so much 'revolutionary' as 'vernacular' " (in the sense that Sheldon Pollock, writing on the South and Southeast Asian Sanskrit cosmopolis uses the term). If Anderson "reads the story in terms of his ideas about nationalism, Javanese culture, and the state," Day contends, "[s]omething else comes into view [...] if we read the story as a literary work written in a cosmopolitan, multilingual tradition [...] rather than simply as a monolingual, Indonesian nationalist or essentialized Javanese cultural manifesto."^{ccclxxiii} Day's close analysis of Pram's neologisms within the Malay language, building on passages of the Javanized Indic epic the *Bārathayuddha*, draws attention to "the tension between different vernacular registers, Javanese and Indonesian, between the epic references and poetic effects that recall a Javanese aesthetics."^{ccclxxiv} As such, Day qualifies, "it is essential to realize that Pramoedya's writing [...] is not simply a by-product of, a nationalist response to, Western imperialism" borne through nationalized Malay, but instead "bears witness to a world of literature that has other centers, other histories, other futures that we should recognize."^{ccclxxv}

In contributing to this debate, and presenting the traces of these "other centers, histories, and futures," the current chapter emphasizes the double orientation within Pram's Malay Indonesian writing: transnational, leftist literary influences (and strong resemblances to the Soviet socialist-realist novel, of which he was a translator into Indonesian),^{ccclxxvi} and a linguistic and literary self-consciousness that insinuates itself within but also positions itself beyond the legacy of classical Javanese, epic literature. I find the primary example of this in his novelistic adaptation of the Indic Javanese *donggeng* or epic-legend *Arok Dedes*. Much of the fiction that has sparked the aforementioned debate on Pramoedya's Malay focuses on his earlier publications

(*The Buru Quartet* and Pramoedya's short stories), without fully considering the contribution that Pram's later novels (treated here) might offer to insights into Pramoedya's diglossia: his novelistic adaptation of the Javanese epic legend *Arok Dedes* (conceived during Pram's imprisonment on Buru island, but first published in 1999) and the novel *Arus Balik* (portions of which were also first narrated to fellow prisoners during his imprisonment in Buru, but first published in 1995).

Building on what Tony Day has argued of Pram's Malay as positionally "vernacular" rather than essentially "revolutionary," and comparatively gesturing to patterns evinced in the leftist writing of Sembene in Senegal, who like Pram was a member of the leftist, Afro-Asian Writer's Association in the late 1950s and early 1960s, I suggest that Pramoedya, like Sembene, dignified a vernacular idiom in his work, but (on a metalingual register) avoids essentializing any single vernacular (including Malay) as an absolute medium through which to *dismantle* languages of prestige. (In the case of Sembene, for example, the heteroglossia of his French-language novel *Le Dernier de l'Empire* allows him to parody French as a local acrolect, but to refuse the counter-extreme of unquestioned reverence for its vernacular alternative (Wolof), whose history he equally demythifies by translating its scornful terms for mixed race Carribeans—"bambara geej," "jaamu geej" (coastal bambara, coastal slave)—through dramatic passages within the text.) In ways that mirror Sembene's prose, Pram seems to suggest that the dismantling of linguistic hierarchies means the *demythification* of language, the *historicization* of language, to impress upon his readership the historical contingency and transience of a language's position of lowliness or prestige. This is evident if one compares across Pramoedya's own prose-works the dramatic vicissitudes of historical acrolects and basilects. In *Arus Balik*, for example, *Malay* (like Arabic) is at certain junctures presented as a coercive imposition

against which *Javanese* assumes the position of a vernacular, populist refuge. In Pram's adaptation of *Arok Dedes*, Javanese occupies the position of a *basilect* to Sanskrit's *acrolect*, but Pram's acknowledgment of the historically *subordinate position* of Javanese does not exclude him from parodically shifting his focus: to the non-Javanese slave of the Javanese whose language "none wish to know."^{ccclxxvii} Given, in other words, the vicissitudes of language as presented through certain meta-lingual passages, Pram's own historical fiction suggests the extent to which Pram recognized that his own writing in Malay, despite the heroic efforts for its nationalization by such print-activists as Tirta Adi Surjo, was itself a historical accident.

If Katerina Clark has observed the endurance of mythic-religious forms in the prescriptive register of Soviet, socialist-realist prose-fiction, a parallel may be evident in Pram's translation of Indonesian history in terms of a syncretist Javanese cosmology—but in ways that advance what I would call his utopian ideal of linguistic *castelessness*, not as an intrinsic quality of language, but borne of a perhaps mythic equality to its alternatives. In a striking passage in Pram's work *Socialist-Realism and Indonesian Literature* [*Realisme-Soisalis dan Sastra Indonesia*], Pramoedya's prescription for a historical rapprochement between an intellectual and popular class is described through history's procession in hindu cosmological terms: as a series of caste overthrows, implying that one can identify contemporary revolution with a ruling class, ksatrian vision of apocalypse, and that this is tantamount to historical progress in Indonesian terms.^{ccclxxviii} This translation of historical progress in mythic-religious terms may be seen to complement Pram's later characterization of the "third world intellectual" as a *casteless Brahmin*:

Hinduism divided society into various castes and these still have a social relevance. Intellectuals belong to the Brahmin caste. The only difference is that these modern Brahmins form the bridge to the future. This is how I tend to see Indonesia and Third World intellectuals. [...] Intellectuals as the mind and conscience of the nation, are Brahmins in the modern sense of the term. Because modern always means democratic, the status of the

Brahmin has nothing to do with the hierarchy of Hinduism. To realize this goal, one must know the origin of the journey.^{ccclxxix}

Pramoedya's characterization of the "third-world intellectual" as a "casteless brahmin" may offer insights into the prescriptive thrust of Pramoedya's historical novel *Arok Dedes*, an adaptation of the Javanese *donggeng* (legend or epic) on the foundation of the twelfth century Singasari dynasty in Hindu Java.^{ccclxxx} Although it has been observed that readings of the novel as direct, political allegory are inexact, an interpretation of the self-reflexive, metalingual register may reveal the novel's political subtext, as it bears the mythic-utopian prescription of a language beyond caste, in support of the prescriptive emulation of the casteless Brahmin.^{ccclxxxi}

The *donggeng*-epic-myth on the establishment of the historic, Singasari dynasty features the founder of the dynasty, Ken Arok, rising to power from obscure origins, and seizing both throne and Queen (Dedes) from his predecessor, Tunggul Ametung. Although hostile depictions of Arok as an illegitimate bandit-king and rapist who stole the throne—a "William the Bastard" reading of "the Conqueror," to translate this into Norman-English terms—abounded during the New Order among opposition stage-artists, inviting comparison to then-reigning Suharto, Pramoedya's adaptation instead renders Arok a positive figure.^{ccclxxxii} If Arok, in Pram's adaptation, emerges as an exemplar rather than as the traitor more frequently associated with other New Order adaptations, Pram's reinterpretation perhaps more strongly traces its lineage to an emblematic moment in Indonesian nationalist history: to the dramatic adaptation of *Arok Dedes* (by the Sumatranese poet Muhammad Yamin), performed during the second Indonesian youth conference in 1928, in which Indonesian Malay was declared the national language of the archipelago.^{ccclxxxiii}

This earlier adaptation by Yamin offers an apologistic take on Arok's seizure of power, but by focusing instead on the *conclusion* of Arok's reign, dramatizes his selfless renunciation of

power as he cedes his throne to his warring descendants in the name of an enduring regional unity. Pram's adaptation, however, returns to the *foundation* of the Singasari dynasty, with Arok's seizure of power, but his initial banditry is reinterpreted in positive terms: it is transformed into a spontaneous defense of a sudra caste (of forced laborers), before he becomes the prophesied leader of a rebellion in the name of sudra-brahmin (proletarian-intellectual) alliance. By also reading Pramoedya's Arok as a "positive hero," depicted in ways that depart from these alternative, Indonesian adaptations but which *follow* transnational patterns of socialist-realist prose-fiction, it is possible to discern how Pram's adaptation *re-reads its epic precedents*—and *beyond the Arok-Dedes myth*. In a practice that diverges, however, from Soviet trends of socialist-realist fiction, Pramoedya embeds in his adaptation of the Arok-Dedes myth an element of literary self-consciousness, a self-reflexivity through which, to borrow a Bakhtinian argument on the novel as a genre, Pram's Malay language novel advances its critique of its generic precedents (and their relative, canonical *monoglossia*)—which, in Pram's case, would be the Javanese *kakawin*, the Javanized adaptation of sacralized, Indic epics, critiqued as a court literature of political patronage. In other words, if one extends Pram's suggestion that the contemporary, "third world" writer be as a casteless *Brahmin*, this prescription may be discerned within the metalingual register of Pram's novelistic adaptation of *Arok Dedes*, which (as a self-critical genre) offers the following corollary, within a heteroglossic, Malay language form, that *still encompasses* its Javanese linguistic and literary precedents: to be a casteless *brahmin* is to write in a *language*—and perhaps a genre—*beyond caste*.

Arok Dedes close reading:

Bakhtin's monumental essay on the generic distinctions between the epic and the novel not only suggest an absolute, formal difference between these two literary genres, but that they

advance two “opposing senses of reality.”^{ccclxxxiv} If the epic presents an apprehension and valorization of the past as perfect and complete, a closed realm of absolute distance from the author and his audience, the novel in contrast represents “the genre of an imperfect, incomplete world,” “formally as incomplete as the world it depicts” and therefore irreducible to a fixed set of formal characteristics.^{ccclxxxv} Bakhtin, in other words, has “shown that ‘what is’ and ‘what ought to be’ represent two irreconcilable stages of cultural development and that these stages are in turn characterized by two different text types, the epic and the novel.”^{ccclxxxvi} As Katerina Clark summarizes Bakhtin’s ideas, the absolute distinction between the two genres and their “senses of reality” are equally marked in their depiction of character:

Whereas in the epic the inner selves of characters are in complete harmony with their outer selves and social roles—there is no interiority and no complex point of view—in the novel a crucial feature is the multiple possibilities for both point of view and for discrepancy between the inner and outer selves of characters, between their capacities and their lot in life.^{ccclxxxvii}

In discussing the evolution of the novel as a literary genre distinct from the epic, Bakhtin suggests that the novel “emerges consciously and unambiguously as a genre that is both critical and self-critical,” offering “a rigorous critique of the literariness and poeticalness inherent in other genres and also in the predecessors of the contemporary novel.”^{ccclxxxviii} As such, the *proximity* of the novel’s forms of representation, and the complexity of the novel’s protagonist relative to the flat, *formed* character of the epic hero, in part “constitute a criticism (from the novel’s point of view of other genres and of the relationship these genres bear to reality: their stilted heroizing, their narrow and unlikelike poeticalness, their monotony and abstractness, the prepackaged and unchanging nature of their heroes.”^{ccclxxxix} The contrast between novel and epic, as such, “aims to elevate the significance of the novel, making of it the dominant genre in contemporary literature.”^{ccccxc}

In her foundational work on socialist-realist prose fiction, Katerina Clark nonetheless

considers the ways in which the Soviet, socialist-realist novel reconciles what Bakhtin deems mutually exclusive: a mythic-utopian and realist register, exclusively constitutive of the epic and novel as distinct literary genres. In her survey of the Soviet instantiation of socialist-realist prose fiction, Clark observes that “[i]n most Soviet novels one finds a whole series of seemingly contradictory general features,” attributable to “a defining paradox of the Socialist Realist novel,” that marks its use of “‘realism’ in what is essentially a rhetorical rather than a fictive narrative.”^{cccxcxi} In other words, the novel “depicts ‘what is’ (i.e., it uses the realist mode)/the novel depicts ‘what ought to be’ (i.e., it idealizes reality, the utopian or mythic mode).”^{cccxcii} This defining paradox, what Clark terms the “modal schizophrenia” characteristic of the Soviet socialist-realist novel is in part evident in “its proclivity for making sudden, unmotivated transitions from realistic discourse to the mythic or utopian.”^{cccxciii} Concluding that this “juxtaposition of ‘what is’ and ‘what ought to be’ represents the combining of two diametrically opposed time-value systems,”^{cccxciv} Clark suggests that “‘epic,’ in the sense that Bakhtin uses it, bears comparison with one half of the Soviet novel’s fatal split: depicting what ‘ought to be,’ combines in the form of the novel “what hitherto [according to Bakhtin’s schema] seemed uncombinable: verisimilitude and mythicization.”^{cccxcv}

The positive hero: Pram’s epic adaptation as a socialist-realist work

Among the characteristics or features shared between the socialist-realist novel and the epic, Clark suggests, is the characterization of the literary protagonist in mythic terms: the “positive hero” recurrent in the socialist-realist novel shares characteristics of the epic hero (by Bakhtin’s definition), in his position as an “emblem of virtue” whose life ‘should be patterned to “show the forward movement of history’ in an allegorical representation of one stage in history’s dialectical progress.”^{cccxcvi} The introduction to Arok (the eponymous hero of Pram’s adaptation) remains

within an epic tradition of characterization, given his mysterious birth, remarkable appearance (in this case: luminous eyes), and superhuman powers of intellect, allowing him an unsurpassed mastery of Brahminic texts—a distinction which inscribes his rise to leadership within a mythic temporality of prophesy and fulfillment. He is introduced with the external distance typical to the epic hero, as a figure commanding awe and reverence among the peasant masses, a source of fear to the reigning power’s cavalry, and an agitator among the peasantry: “a muscular youth, either courageous or brazen, who acted always without any hesitation. [...] People silently held Borang [later rebaptised as the Brahmin *Arok*] in the highest of esteem and said he was on the side of right and even that he was an incarnation of the Lord Vishnu himself.”^{cccxcvii} Bakhtin’s generic characterization of the epic hero describes what this title character approaches: a “fully finished and completed being,” “from beginning to end he coincides with himself, he is absolutely equal to himself,” existing without “the slightest gap between his authentic essence and its external manifestation.”^{cccxcviii} Further evidence of Arok’s sustained status as an epic hero (or: of his transformation as a socialist-realist “positive hero”) lies in the characteristic “symbolization of [his] physical features”: in the sparse, formulaic description of Arok, whose his flat, broad nose betrays his “pure sudra blood,” though his radiant eyes (through which, along with his performed mastery of sanskrit, he subdues the Queen consort Dedes) recurrently distinguish him among the Brahmin.^{cccxcix} If the classical Javanese chronicle the *Nagarakrtagama* describes Arok as having a radiant face in his sleep (which is not a detail that translates into Pram’s adaptation),^{cd} the focus in Pram’s adaptation on Arok’s radiant eyes suggests a possible borrowing from Gorky (given that the motif also serves as the stock description of Gorky’s protagonist (Pavel) in the novel *Pramoedya* translated into Indonesian, *Mother*).^{cdi}

Accompanying the otherwise epic flatness of the socialist-realist novel's protagonist, Clark argues, is the replacement of a character's interior development with a ritual attainment of consciousness, structuring the plot as a rite of passage with the hero as initiate.^{cdii} A transition from (individual) spontaneity to (collective) deliberation often marks this passage to "higher consciousness." The pivotal contrast, in other words, that dramatizes the evolution of the "positive hero" is an opposition between the attainment of a higher "consciousness"—often evinced by "actions/political activities that are controlled, disciplined, and guided by politically aware bodies"—and an anterior spontaneity, "actions that are not guided by complete political awareness and are either sporadic, uncoordinated, even anarchic."^{cdiii} Part of what informs this dynamic of change is its nature as a collective rather than *individual* process: in the wake of his newfound deliberation, this "ritual conferral of consciousness," "[a] hero sets out consciously to achieve his goal, which involves *social integration* and *collective* rather than *individual* identity for himself."^{cdiv} As such, the evolution or development of the positive hero "is not, strictly speaking one of character, for their inner selves play no significant role in it."^{cdv} Taking Gorky's protagonist (Pavel) as the primary example, Clark observes that the development of the positive hero is instead "derived from *extrinsic* factors," "due to the instruction and example of others" in a process through which characters function as a "symbolic medium" in a "ritual conferral of consciousness."^{cdvi}

Arok's development is equally external to his character, involving a sequential, communal integration and the evolution from individual spontaneity to political deliberation. The beginning of Pramoedya's adaptation is structured according to the positive hero's serial assimilation into different castes (his integration into the laboring/proletarian *sudra* and his initiation among the intellectual/priestly *Brahmin*), an integration through which he assumes the

right to rebellion as a *ksatriya* (by virtue of his defense of the sudra and performance of intellectual mastery among the Brahmin). The function of the inaugural chapters that focus on Arok, in other words, illustrate his sodality with two otherwise opposing castes, conferring upon him the purely symbolic embodiment of the *triwangsa* (or three castes in one). His characterization, along with his “development” as an external process of successive integration, confines Arok to the symbolic-mythic register of the epic hero (as Bakhtin has described him):

All his potential, all his possibilities are realized utterly in his external social position, in the whole of his fate and even in his external appearance; outside of this predetermined fate and predetermined position there is nothing. He has already become everything that he could become, and he could become only that which he has already become.^{cdvii}

If this symbolic integration involves a movement from the realist to the symbolic register of the narrative, likening Pram’s adaptation to broader trends in socialist-realist fiction, there is nonetheless an element of difference in the *literary self-reflexivity* introduced through Arok’s “rise to higher consciousness,” a pattern not generally witnessed in Soviet counterparts to socialist-realist fiction. Arok is quickly introduced in the novel as the model disciple to the Buddhist Tantripala and the Hindu Dang Hyang Lohgawe—but, in a gesture that parallels the development of Gorky’s protagonist in *Mother*,^{cdviii} Arok’s narrative is subject to flashbacks to an anterior period of banditry, presented as the spontaneous and well-intentioned defense of the Sudra caste.^{cdix} Although in the “present” of the novel’s narration, Arok is presented as a fully formed paragon of virtue, these glimpses to an earlier period of banditry are presented through a sentimental narrative of his sporadic defense of the *sudra* caste (his adopted *sudra* kin)—but also through a certain degree of literary self-consciousness, as the flashback is catalyzed by the hero’s examination of his own biography, written by one of his religious gurus: Arok “put the *rontal* down [...]. [H]e would use the rest of the evening to recall the past. Tantripala would not have

the complete story.”^{cdx}

Rarely does one acquire access an internal portrait of Arok, but *when one does* it is to highlight, through a certain literary-reflexivity, the disparity between the Javanese epic *kakawin* and the (Malay, Indonesian) *novel* in their *representative* possibility. As is consistent with the position of the epic hero in the hierarchy of the novel *Arok Dedes*, the incursions into the internal workings of the hero-protagonist’s mind are didactic, reflexive to the extent that they advance the criticism of the novel to the epic—offering a second dimension of the “prescriptive” to the “descriptive”; it suggests, in other words, that the novel offers the *antidote* to the Javanese epic’s *omissions* in their representation of historical narrative. These rare insights into an interior portrait of the novel’s positive hero do not change his completedness/finishedness, his “having been (already) all that he could be,” in this case the destined *sudra-ksatriya-brahmin* savior of the Brahmin and sudra castes.^{cdxi} The uncertainty it represents or introduces is not one of the tension between internal and external reality, but rather between literature’s different accounts of history; as will later be discussed, these *correctives* are still consistent with what Pram evidently prescribes for Indonesian literature, complementing what Katerina Clark has observed of the temporal duality or “modal schizophrenia” at the center of the socialist-realist novel (of which *Arok Dedes* may be considered a partial emulation).

Literary self-consciousness in *Arok Dedes*: Against the “generation of official myth”

Although the characterization of Arok as a positive hero appears to be consistent with larger patterns in socialist-realist fiction, there is an element in the novel, embedded in the positive hero’s ritual passage from spontaneity to higher consciousness, which diverges from the pattern of socialist-realist fiction (in the Soviet model): an element of literary self-consciousness which makes of Pram’s novelized adaptation of the epic a *frame narrative* for a fictional, oral

exegesis—an exegesis on the historical relationship of the sacralized, Javanese epic to its authour. In this respect, it is possible to see imbued in the self-reflexive register of Pram’s novelistic adaptation an idea that originates with Bakhtin (and that relies on Bakhtin’s assumption of an absolute distinction between the epic and the novel as a genre): that is, that the novel emerges as a summative genre, superior to the epic as a form. In this light, Arok, the positive hero, in the course of his rite of initiation, his rise to consciousness and his integration into a brahminic congress, demonstrates his mastery of sacralized language, Sanskrit, and its vernacular complement, Javanese, not only in a feat of narration (having memorized a series of sacred Hindu texts), but also in an oral, exegetical feat: in his deconstruction of their value and his revelation of their systemic omissions. Even as Arok as an absolute paragon remains within the realm of the epic (or positive) hero, and exists on a mythic-symbolic realm of representation, his rise to a higher consciousness depends on his self-reflexive acknowledgement of the limitations of the Javanese epic as a historical narrative and as a literary genre of political patronage. As such, although Pramoedya’s adaptation falls into certain patterns of the socialist-realist novel, which indeed reconciles two seemingly distinct apprehensions of reality (represented by epic and novel), it nonetheless appears to self-consciously distinguish (again) between the two genres in certain self-reflexive passages, suggesting the superiority of the novel over the epic in its narration of historical truths.

The highest feat of Arok’s ritual, symbolic integration into the Brahminic congress (in the fiction of Pram’s adaptation) involves Arok’s commentary on the *Bārathayuddha*,^{cdxii} the celebrated Javanese adaptation of the Sanskrit Indic epic, the *Mahabharatha*.^{cdxiii} But here the ambiguity of sacralized language in mediating seemingly unmotivated shifts between a prescriptive and descriptive register, between the realist and mythic-prophetic dimensions of the

novel, is evident. Having “mastered the art of declamation,” he leaves his audience “enthralled by his recitation” of the ninth *parwa* of the *Mahabharata*, “moved by Arok’s fluency in Sanskrit,” of his account of King Salya’s preparation for the great battle between the Pandawas and the Kurawas.^{cdxiv} Arok’s Brahminic authority and heroic recognition is gained by fiat, by virtue of his mastery of sacralized language (Sanskrit),^{cdxv} but, as later becomes evident, it is also by virtue of his mastery of Sanskrit that he gains the authority to question its deployment as a language of absolute truth, in the tradition of politicized, Javanese adaptations of Indic epics. If the feat of his initiation rite involves his public recitation of passages of Sanskrit, it is by virtue of his mastery of Sanskrit (despite his lower caste, *sudra* birth) that he comes to be recognized as a *Brahmin*—but it is also by virtue of this mastery that he challenges and surpasses the birthright basis of caste itself, becoming a symbolic (prophesied) embodiment of three castes in one (the *triwangsa*). Tasked to explain the relationship between the Javanized, Indic epic and its author, the “connection between the Salyaparwa [the 9th canto of the *Baratha Yuddha*] and the story of Mpu Sedah [its primary author],” Arok re-imagines the historic court scribe, the author of one of Java’s most renowned epic poems, as a figure of opposition to a tyrannical regent (Jayabhaya) who orders the court poet to deify the king in poetic form, to sacralize his biography and his conquests through the Javanese adaptation of a revered, Indic epic tradition.^{cdxvi} According to Arok’s exegesis:

To glorify [Jayabaya’s conquests and] victory in Jambi and the Semanjung Straits, *Mpu Sedah* was ordered to transform into Javanese the section of the *Mahabharata*, telling the story of the war itself [...] Perhaps also as a result of the spirit of war, [the poet Mpu Sedah’s] head was severed from his neck before he could finish the work....^{cdxvii}

The passage at the center of Arok’s exegesis or initiation rite is the *salyaparwa*, the most renowned portion of the Javanese adaptation of the Indic epic, the *Mahabharata*—a segment that was an original addition by the Javanese scribe, Mpu Sedah. It is not without significance

that the *salyaparwa* speaks to the tragic inadequacy of the written word, penned by the beloved as he is sent to death in battle.^{cdxviii} In dramatizing Arok's exegesis of the *salyaparwa*, Pram here works through an intricate intertextuality, building on a Javanese narrative tradition that answers to the historic mystery of the authorship of the *Bārathayuddha*—attributed to two twelfth century court poets: the first, Mpu Sedah, and the second (who finished the work of the first), Mpu Panuluh.^{cdxix} According to the Javanese narrative tradition on the relationship between the first poet (Sedah) and his patron (Jayabhaya), King Jayabhaya's Queen serves as the model for the fictional King Salya's wife (in the writing of the *salyaparwa* of the *Barathayuddha*); the poet's seduction of the Queen in the course of his writing results in "the poet [paying] for his impertinence with his disgrace and the death penalty."^{cdxx} The Javanese tradition on the mystery of the epic's dual authorship reinvents the relationship of the first author (Sedah) and his court patron (King Jayabhaya), but in Arok's version, the beloved of the poet is first abducted by the king and made the consort of the king--and the poet, Sedah, insinuates himself at court to reunite with his former beloved, the model for Queen Setyawati in the *Salyaparwa*. The exegesis, in other words, makes the scribe a vindictive figure of opposition to the king rather than a figure condemned to death for his seduction of the Queen (as told in alternative accounts). In narrating this act of *revenge*, Pramoeda's Arok re-reads the transgressions of King Jaybhaya as an instantiation of the unbridled exploitations of the *ksatriya* (ruling aristocratic) class against the *Brahmin* (court scribes)—who seek, in their patronage of the epic as a literary form, the sanctification of their rule.^{cdxxi}

In the hands of Pramoedya, then, the (Indonesian) novel's critique of the (Javanese) epic lies within the novel's adaptation of the epic in this embedded renarration of the Mpu Sedah story. Pramoedya creatively or imaginatively rereads the evidence presented on the

historiography of the Javanese epic that the first author's work was truncated, and the authorship of the second author was a work of *forced transcription*, for the deification of a king (Jayabhaya)—a historical detail corroborated by other historians of the *Barathayuddha*: “For Panuluh [the second author of the epic poem], in accordance with the wishes of his royal patron, his poem was in the first place a chronicle of the heroic deeds of Kṛṣṇa, and in his epilogue he made the close unity of his king with Wisnu- Kṛṣṇa abundantly clear.”^{cdxxii} Zoetmulder further confirms: “for the latter this does not seem to have been a matter of free choice,” for the introduction and epilogue to the Javanese *kakawin* states “explicitly that it was the king himself who ordered this commemoration of the heroic feats performed by him in his former incarnation as Kṛṣṇa.”^{cdxxiii} Pram builds on this knowledge of Panuluh's versified deification of *the king* as a matter of submission (rather than free choice): at the center of Arok's exegesis is the assertion that the second author deified the king where the first author (Mpu Sedah) refused—and paid for his life.^{cdxxiv}

Through a kind of literary self-consciousness, an exegetical treatment about the relationship of the author (of the Javanese *kakawin*) to his work, Arok's exegesis offers the *prescriptive* register of Pramoedya's novel in its historical challenge to the literariness of its precedents:^{cdxxv} it distinguishes between literary progress as the *humanization* of character and literary *regress* as the *deification* or *sanctification* of character in literary form. The function of the novel, as implied by this passage, is to desacralize the epic as a politically sanctioned genre and to challenge reverence to the sacralized language (or *acrolect*) through which it, by fiat, gains its symbolic authority.^{cdxxvi}

A Brahmin's disenchantment: Dedes and the (realist) register of Arok Dedes

Pramoedya also interweaves in his novelistic adaptation of the epic a more realist portrait

of the eponymous character Dedes, the Queen consort, whose unexpected development—as a character who does not rise fully to her fate in an egalitarian (post-revolutionary) society—is ambiguous: she could be both a “lesser character” to the positive example of Arok (according to transnational patterns of socialist-realist prose fiction), or the novel’s truest protagonist, if one considers (as Bakhtin might) that the true protagonist of a novel is its most complex, three-dimensional character (superior to the flatness of its minor characters).^{cdxxvii} It is perhaps in this light that the two eponymous characters of Pramoedya’s adaptation^{cdxxviii} belong to two different literary orders, held in tension within a single narrative adaptation of the ancient Javanese *kakawin*: Arok remains predominantly an epic hero, whereas his female consort, Dedes, becomes the novel’s more evolved protagonist, more faithful to the expectations of novelistic genre in her evolution and in her inability to rise to her station, her “inadequacy to [her] fate.”^{cdxxix} The extension of religious authority beyond her Brahminic caste, and the extension of her throne beyond her hands (to Arok and to her new sudra co-consort) is experienced by Dedes as a fall from grace, as a form of disenchantment: “her time as the wielder of power was over, and that was precisely why she now longed after it.”^{cdxxx} It is through the character of Dedes and the realist narrative register which attends her evolution that Pram’s novelistic adaptation functions “to expose the disparity between [her] surface and [her] center, between [her] potential and [her] reality,” to explore the “dynamics of inconsistency and tension between various factors of this image.”^{cdxxxi} As such, the evolution of Dedes as a character—*her* rise to a higher consciousness—is intimately linked with her growing recognition of the futility of caste, and the declining value of Sanskrit as a religious prestige language. Part of this process is ironized through the contrast between her character’s early naïveté and the awareness among her foreign slaves and servants of the provinciality of Sanskrit and Javanese, religious languages of prestige

used to defend their own enslavement among the Javanese.^{cdxxxii} In this way, it can be said that both the emblematic status of Arok as a “positive hero” and the evolution of the novel’s more three-dimensional protagonist (Dedes) serve a common function and reach a common end: the disenchantment with the epic as a form, with sacralized language as its vessel, and the collapse of caste distinctions defended through the genre and its language. But the novel’s emphasis on or inclusion of low-caste, female characters (court concubines and kitchen slaves) also suggests the superiority of the novel—as an inter-subjective caste-inclusive genre—over the epic as a more male-centric narrative form, written to glorify history’s victors over its vanquished. It is therefore through the contrasts between the adaptation’s two eponymous characters—in their mode of representation, Arok as the epic hero closure and Dedes as the novel’s more familiar, three dimensional protagonist—that Pram’s adaptation advances what Bakhtin has also called the novel’s critique of its generic precedents, making of it a summative form.^{cdxxxiii} Where the traditional subject of the epic—the right to political succession—is concerned, the evolution of the female protagonist, Dedes, and her female foils makes of the adaptation an agonistic rather than apologistic genre (as would be the epic’s more characteristic form). If Arok exists almost exclusively on a mythic or symbolic register, the novel’s more realist feminine drama of sexual subordination and caste alliance reveals the contours of an open debate about the licitness of rebellion and revolution, as the drama of succession becomes fully evident in the feminine choice of *allegiance* to caste.^{cdxxxiv} Through the contrasts between them, in other words, and the metalingual register that subtends these contrasts, the question of political legitimacy becomes an open question of *choice rather than* a foreclosed one of prophecy and fulfillment.

On linguistic utopianism and the socialist-realist novel's "modal schizophrenia"

To further extend an argument first made in the preceding, third chapter on Sembene, my analysis of Pramoedya's adaptation of *Arok Dedes* demonstrates that the utopianism of Pramoedya's fiction (as with Sembene's) is most legible through a metalingual rather than strictly allegorical register, given the emphasis placed in the adaptation on the historicization, parochialization, and demythification of sacralized language and political acrolects. To examine Pramoedya's adaptation with an eye to the conventions of socialist-realist prose developed in the Soviet model (relying principally on Katerina Clark's work), it appears that what Clark has identified as the "modal schizophrenia" of the socialist-realist novel—moving between the descriptive register of "what is" and the prescriptive one of "what should be"—features in Pramoedya's work, but it is a temporal division (or modal schizophrenia) at times *made ambiguous* through the interventive power (or symbolic authority) of sacralized language in the novel. If, by the fiat authority of epic Sanskrit or Indic Javanese, the symbolic prescription of *casteless language* is born, the novel nonetheless equally prescribes through its literary self-consciousness a prescription for *linguistic progress* that coincides with the *demythification* of the language through which the symbolic prescription of castelessness (in language) initially assumed its authority.

Pramoedya's work, in other words, presents on a meta-lingual register this axis between the prescriptive and descriptive, but the temporal division that conventionally attends the prescriptive (epic) and descriptive (realist) register of the socialist-realist prose fiction (in the Soviet model) is complicated through the linguistic self-reflexivity and literary self-consciousness that distinguishes Pram's work and characterizes his writing *against* the generation of official myth. In this respect, the novel's access to or re-opening of an epic past in the Indonesian archipelago imaginatively reinscribes into this epic past a "realist" register: the

“social history”^{cdxxxv} through which the epic genre came into being and the sacralization of language (or canonical monoglossia) that attends it. As Pram challenges the grounds for sustaining historical prestige languages by emphasizing their transience within his historical fiction, he also upholds the (perhaps mythic) ideal of egalitarianism *across* languages—of a utopian realm without acrolects and basilects. Having considered how Pramoedya assumes this pattern in his adaptation of the Javanese *donggeng* (legend) of Arok Dedes, I suggest a second comparison between Pram and Sembene in the latter’s fictionalized history of Islamic expansion in Senegal (*Ceddo*), with Pramoedya’s writing on the foundational history of Islam in the Indonesian archipelago and its correlation with the earliest regional incursions of colonial Europe.

On the foundational history of Islam in leftist historical fiction & film

Arus Balik

The novel *Arus Balik* [*The Current Reverses*] is, like *Arok Dedes*, set amidst divisive wars of religious violence and forced conversion, but where twelfth century Hindu-Buddhist sectarianism formed the context for *Arok Dedes*, *Arus Balik* is staged in a later Javanese epoch with the decline of Java’s Indic Empires (Majapahit) and the entrenchment of Islam among the coastal kingdoms of the north in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Although the fiction of *Arus Balik* transpires almost four hundred years after the era of *Arok Dedes*, and traces the political intrigues of the first Islamic kingdom in Java (the strategic port-kingdom of Demak),^{cdxxxvi} the two historical novels can be seen to collectively question or challenge the trans-historical value of sacralized acrolects, in their service of competing claims to theocracy.

In the case of *Arus Balik*, the novel is purely a historical fiction, not based on an epic (or fully mythic) past or literary precedent. Nonetheless, a family resemblance, and one self-

consciously drawn, might be seen between the positive hero of *The Current Reverses* (Galeng) and that of Arok (in *Arok Dedes*).^{cdxxxvii} The two protagonists emerge with an epic flatness as the exceptional commoner rising from obscure origins to high command—and at certain junctures of the text, the epic example of Arok is invoked to describe the positive hero (Galeng) of *Arus Balik*,^{cdxxxviii} but where Arok leads a peasant revolution and emerges in emblematic success as a prophesied hero with an epic afterlife, the positive hero of *Arus Balik* remains unsung, becomes by the end of the fictional work an obscure figure, marginally detailed in the journals of Portugese sailors, and praised only in the collective but transient memory of local survivors of the Portugese incursions to Malacca and Northern Java. This intertextual pairing, of the epic hero, Arok, to describe the novel's fictional, unsung hero works again to qualify or imagine the relationship of the novel to the epic, and the relationship of these respective literary genres to historical narrative; it challenges the claims of epic literature in its representation of historical truths, where those worthy of epic greatness remain unwritten in the epic's form.

A second difference might be found in the evident development of the positive hero between the two novels. The successive symbolic integration into various collectives that characterized the evolution of Arok as a positive hero is a trajectory made impossible for the fictionalized protagonist of this later period: the successive integration of Galeng is made impossible by the religious fragmentation that dominates the novel's political macrocosm. The tragedy of this righteous second hero lies in part with his position as the member of a religious minority in a port kingdom undergoing conversion to Islam (the port of Tuban). Unlike *Arok*, he emerges as the obscure hero of a failed rebellion against a Portugese incursion, victimized by the tides of a regional history beholden to competing claims of religious supremacy. As such, his failures have nothing to do with an interior lapse; his rise to consciousness is more a rise to tragic

lucidity. His function is to leave in the minds of the reader an unheeded prescription, an epic-utopianist “ought” that might have left insular Southeast Asia, in the unmet idealism of the work, regionally autonomous and spared from the internecine religious violence otherwise depicted by the novel’s realist register.

Pram’s *Arus Balik* moves between a realist register and a more mythic temporality of prophecy and fulfillment—only this particular work evolves through the drama of a *negative* prophecy and its fulfillment, a prophecy through which historical events are re-read through two different figures: the elder Muslim Queen of Demak, Ratu Aisah, and the (assassinated) Hindu Priest Rama Cluring). Through this prophetic register, the narrative reframes the basis of intra-insular politics, and offers a prescription for the foundation of an independent regional polity—which, according to the logic of the novel’s rereading of the history of Islamic coastal kingdoms, suggests that the price of religious disunity is the foreign exploitation of religious divisions—and foreign domination. The sole basis through which liberty against a foreign power can be ensured, in other words, is through regional unity across religious difference rather than an impossible political unity on the basis of a single, state religion: a religiously pluralist thalassocracy as opposed to a theocracy. In keeping between the choice between a religiously pluralist thalassocracy as opposed to a trade-dependent, land-locked Islamic theocracy, the prophecy suggests that *religious pluralism forms the natural complement to political freedom in the archipelago—and to regional independence (from foreign rule)*.

The drama of the novel vacillates, then, between two poles of a recurrent choice: between Aisah (and the assassinated Hindu priest’s) positive prescription of strategic, naval unification across religious divisions against a common enemy, in the protection of free trade— or the impossible aspiration for a regional *theocracy*, a unified Islamic state, at the expense of maritime

independence. In this respect, Pramoedya's narrative rereads the legacy of two historical, Muslim kings of the northern Javanese port city of Demak, to contrast the accomplishments of the first, Unus, who led a naval fleet against the Portugese in Melacca in a failed attempt to expel them from the region, to the ambitions of his successor Trenggono, a historical figure who conquered neighboring coastal cities of Java (including Tuban, and Sunda Kelapa) and subdued Hindu resistance to his rule in Central Java.^{cdxxxix} Pram's rereading of these two historic figures favors the former (Unus), recurrently depicted as a leader who overrides religious differences for political unity against the Portugese, against the latter—who, in the fiction of the novel, overtakes neighboring Javanese kingdoms out of personal gain, prioritizes land conquests for the establishment of a greater Islamic state on the island of Java—and *loses* the thalassocracy, the naval independence, upon which his kingdom is based. The historic tragedy at the heart of the work lies with Trenggono's decision to ultimately favour religious conquests over maritime alliances that transcend religious difference, disregarding Ratu Aisah's prophesy, that "those that lose the seas will lose the land" [*"barang siapa kehilangan laut dia kehilangan darat"*].^{cdxli} In the aftermath of Trenggono's decision to instead favor wars of religious conquest, the rise to consciousness of the positive hero of the novel (Galeng) corresponds to his growing awareness of the failure of inter-religious resistance to the Portugese.^{cdxlii} Comparing himself to a handful of sand [*"secauk pasir"*] against the reversal of the tides set by the theocratic ambitions of a ruling elite, Galeng proclaims his tragic inability to "to make kings and sultans conscious" of the dangers of the Portugese arrival from the north, of "the reversal of the current from the north, not only for the devastation of our time, but for its continual perpetuation."^{cdxlili}

As a sign of the failings of political leadership and of the indefensibility of wars of forced conversion, the exploitation (or exploitability) of sacralized language is dramatized in *Arus*

Balik, as had been the case in *Arok Dedes*. Both novels challenge the trans-historical value of sacralized prestige languages—only, where *Sanskrit* occupied this privileged position in *Arok Dedes*, Arabic (and its vernacular complement, Malay) dominates and displaces Sanskrit as a sacralized acrolect and challenges its vernacular complement, Javanese, in *Arus Balik*. The narrative thereby dramatizes the arbitrariness of *which* language occupies a position of prestige, implying the weakness of claims that either language deserves its unique position as an unchallenged medium of religious truth.

A fundamental dimension of the narrative of *Arus Balik* is the intricate relationship between the logic of religious conversion in Java and the *choice* of sacralized language. The narrative emphasis on language choice and linguistic difference, in effect, suggests the historical contingency of languages upheld as unique truth-languages—and the arbitrariness of *which* sacralized language assumes a monopolistic advantage among a local, ruling elite.^{cdxliii} Where the narrative focuses on the logic of conversion from the vantage point of a ruling elite, the arbitrariness of sacralized language is suggested through the drama of religious conversion for tactical or material gain (among the leadership of Tuban). This arbitrariness is principally underscored through the dramatic rivalry of the two syahbandars (or clerical counselors) of rival linguistic competence-- in a drama that culminates or recurrently suggests the exploitability of religious acrolects (in this case, Arabic) as a form of symbolic authority among the clerical advisors of Tuban, a port kingdom neighboring the Sultanate of Demak.^{cdxliv}

Set amidst the Portugese conquest of the strategic port of Malacca, and in the context of the Portugese establishment of a spice monopoly within the archipelago, the broader calculus of *market access* offers the logic of a new linguistic orientation for the port of Tuban (in the novel's fictional context), and adds a *coercive element* to the more widespread adoption of Arabic,

Malay, and Portugese among its inhabitants (as they increasingly have *no choice* but to trade with the Portugese). On the basis of increased market access, the change of the port of Tuban's religious leadership (*syahbandar*) suggests the arbitrariness of a sacralized language historically subject to political exploitation.^{cdxlv} Through an initial rivalry between two competing Syahbandars—a South Asian, Benggali Muslim, and an Arab Moor who claims greater mastery of Arabic and direct lineage to the prophet Muhammad—the novel satirizes the connection between presumed religious status and the native mastery of sacralized, religious languages. As each rival scorns the other for their presumption to religious authority—the Benggali mocking the Iberian Moor for his unlikely lineage to the prophet, the Moor scorning the Benggali for his religious airs as a non-Arab—the novel juxtaposes their mutual disdain to offer a double parody on each character as the displacement (of the Benggali by the Arab Moor) occurs.^{cdxlv1}

The excessive pride of the new syahbandar in his native mastery of Arabic, his disregard for Javanese vernaculars, and his disdain for the solecisms of non-native, Javanese speakers of Arabic, is further ironized by his intial inscrutability among his own Javanese subordinates (who privately disdain him for his incomprehensibility).^{cdxlvii} Upon prohibiting his servant from using his servant's native vernacular (Javanese), the Syahbandar's alienated servant and the novel's principal protagonist (Galeng) interprets the strangeness of his master's incomprehension according to a vernacular literary form—seeing him instead as a sub-human, two-dimensional, puppet-ogre:

“Jangan bicara Jawa,’ tuan rumah melarang, ‘ayoh, mulai sekarang pergunakan Melayu,” sekarang ia ucapkan sepatah sepatah. “Melayu! Bukankah kau sekarang pembantu-utamaku?”

Juara gulat itu mengangguk mengiakan. [I presume this is a typo, and should be: mengialkan]

“Melayu! Melayu! Mulai bicara Melayu!”

[...] Yang terbayang olehnya adalah seorang raksasa. Dan tingkah-laku Syahbandar di depannya itu, suara dan gerak-geriknya, adalah tepat

seluruhnya sebagaimana digambarkan oleh nenek-moyangnya dengan raksasa di dalam wayang. Hanya raksasa yang seorang ini kurus, sedikit bongkok, mungkin dikandungkan dan dilahirkan di musim paceklik.^{cdxlviii}

“Do not speak Javanese,” the master of the house forbade, “Come, from now on use Malay,” he now said piece by piece. “Malay! Aren’t you now my primary servant?”

The champion wrestler [Galeng] acted out a nod.

“Malay! Malay! Start to speak Malay!”

What he imagined appeared before him [*terbayang olehnya*] was an ogre [*raksasa*]. The actions of the *Syahbandar* before him, his voice and his gesticulations [*gerak-gerik*], were in their entirety exactly as his ancestors depicted ogres in in the *wayang* [performance of shadow puppets]. But the ogre before him was thin and rather stooped, perhaps conceived and born in a season of famine [...].^{cdxlix}

The subsequent, private drama of Galeng—who comprehends neither his master’s *Malay* nor the source of his broader political authority (*Arabic*), and understands little of his master’s racial and religious prejudice against him as a Javanese non-Muslim—reinforces the novel’s broader treatment of religious politics in Java, underscoring the European exploitation of *religious divisions* among the natives of the Indonesian archipelago in the contest for a regional trade monopoly. Galeng’s private drama, as a hero tragically impeded by growing local prejudice against Hindus, further suggests that Malay and Arabic come to be introduced with a certain degree of coercion for the Javanese. (There is, furthermore, a certain irony in the Moorish *Syahbandar*’s intense prejudice against his non-Muslim, Javanese subordinate, given the eventual revelation that the new *Syahbandar* (an Iberian Muslim) is a *religious refugee* from a region newly unified under the Christian *reconquista*.)

If the symbolic authority of sacralized language is ironized through the dramatic exploitations of a ruling class in *Arus Balik* (corresponding with Galeng’s growing victimization by his Moorish master), the counterpoint to this process among the Javanese underclass emerges through their realization of the exploitability of religious prestige languages *regardless* of which

language is sacralized. In a key scene witnessed by the novel's positive hero, a debate about the licitness of religious language within the novel corresponds to a debate on the ethical bounds of regents who claim submission to a sacred source-text and who mediate or symbolize their authority through popular subjection to its sacralized language. Again challenging the logic of a theocracy, the question of whether subjection to Islamic Arabic or Indic Sanskrit and Javanese source texts sufficiently circumscribe the exploitations of a ruling class is raised among the manual laborers or porters [*pemikul*] of the port of Yuana.^{cdl} The scene involves a debate which centers on the perennial question subtending the problem of political authority—*Quis custodiet ipsos custodes?* [*who will guard the guards themselves?*]^{cdli}—and builds through a sense of the parochial constant of sacralized languages, laid bare in the historical contest between them. The irony of this dialogue, set against the drama of Java's continually exploitative regents—both Hindu and Muslim—falls on the side of power's absolute corruption, regardless of the religious infrastructure erected to defend it, challenging the logic of subjection to a new theocracy and religious acrolect.

In keeping with Pram's projection of vernacularism as linguistic populism in *Arok Dedes* (and one might add: in *The Buru Quartet*),^{cdli} the demands of subjection to an untranslated, Arabic *ūrtext* popularly misunderstood in *Arus Balik* are contrasted with the popularization of Islam's sacred teachings on the basis of vernacular translation. In this respect, the failure of proselytization in *Arabic* is contrasted to its relative success in *Javanese*, in a drama that presents vernacularization as a form of populism, as the basis of noncoercive forms of conversion to Islam. The resistance to script rupture, the importance of a trans-generational awareness of a vernacular literary tradition ensured through the sustainment of Javanese script, further subtends this contrast, dramatized through the requisite changes made by the Muslim proselytizer

Muhammad Firman, in his efforts to convert the Hindu masses of Java's interior:

[D]esa dibikan terheran-heran mengapa pengajiannya tidak mengajarkan baca tulis Jawa, dan bagaimana jadinya kalau anak-anak itu nanti besar dan tidak mengetahui sesuatu tentang ajaran leluhur sendiri? [...] Kesulitan yang ke sekian mulai dihadapi oleh Pada. Huruf Arab yang diajarkannya terlalu sulit untuk bisa dipergunakan untuk diucapkan. Dan murid-murid itu mulai berguguran seorang demi seorang. Ia sedang menghadapi kegagalan.^{cdlii}

The village folk were astonished that worship was not taught in Javanese writing, and wondered what it would mean if the children, once grown, knew nothing about the teachings of their ancestors? [...] These hardships began to confront Pada [Muhammad Firman, the proselytizer]. The Arabic script that he taught was too difficult to be used and spoken. And the attrition of his students began one by one. He was in the process of facing failure.^{cdliii}

Suggesting an equation between vernacularization and populism (or popularization), the proselytizer Muhammad Firman, in the face of this failure, subsequently begins to teach in *Javanese*, and to translate his religious teachings into *Javanese poetic forms*:

Dimulainya menulis tembang dalam bahasa dan tulisan Arab tentang kisah Rasulullah. Muridnya yang tinggal sedikit telah merambatkan tembang itu ke seluruh desa Awis Krambil, dan merasa berbahagia dengan suksesnya. Ia dapat dengarkan tulisannya itu dinyanyikan di atas punggung kerbau di padang rumput, atau di malam sepi waktu bulan tiada terbit, di rumah-rumah yang tersebar luas dalam kegelapan. Namun muridnya tidak juga bertambah.^{cdliv}

He began to write *tembang* [traditional Javanese verse forms] in the Arabic language and script about the stories of the Prophet of God. His students (of which there remained few) spread those *tembang* throughout the village of Awis Krambil, and he was pleased with his success. He heard his writings sung upon the backs of buffalos in the fields, [the melodies] in lonely nights when the moon failed to rise, in homes scattered across vast distances. And yet, the ranks of his students did not rise.^{cdlv}

In contrast to the moderate success of Muhammad Firman and to the general inscrutability of other Arabophone proselytizers (Hayatullah) among the Javanese, Raden Said (the historical prince of Tuban, also known by his religious name, Ki Aji Kalijaga) offers the positive example of vernacular proselytization and peaceful conversion in Pramoedya's fiction. Wandering

humbly through the Hindu interior of Java, Kalijaga gains converts through oral narration in vernacular *Javanese*, rather than through forced subjection to a foreign *Arabic* language. Moving from *desa* to *desa*, Kalijaga is depicted as an itinerant sage, sitting beneath trees in the villages of the Hinduized interior, narrating to local children stories of the Prophet, as the children are joined by their mothers, then by the village masses— as Ki Aji Kalijaga increasingly gains converts in *Javanese*.^{cdlvi}

Wali Songo: The Nine Saints

If *Arus Balik* served as Pramoedya's narrative account of the historic beginnings of an Islamic Java, Sjuman Djaya's ambition to film an account of the foundational history of Islam in Java proved too controversial to move past the scenario and planning stage, despite its having involved the largest film budget in the history of Indonesian cinema at the time of its planning.^{cdlvii} Centering on the filmmaker's fascination with (the aforementioned) Sunan Kalijaga, one of the nine saints credited in Indonesian folklore with the spread of Islam in Java and (a historical figure who features as a minor character in the narrative drama of *Arus Balik* as the positive exemplar of peaceful, vernacular proselytization), the film's failure was evidently due to the controversial approach and contested historical sources for the film.^{cdlviii} Aesthetically inspired by the medium of shadow puppetry, the epic, six hour film, to consist exclusively of long shots and close-ups, faced its greatest controversy due to the choice and methods of casting for the film—in particular, the ethnicity of actors chosen.^{cdlix} At the center of the controversy was the decision—made in unorthodox fashion through a female Javanese medium, claiming mystical communion with the departed Kalijaga—to caste as one of the the *wali* or saints an ethnic Chinese-Indonesian (Mas Agung, a recent convert to Islam who had offered to fund the film's production at unprecedented expense).^{cdlx}

Protest among Indonesian clerics against Gunung Jati's casting and ethnicity hinged upon the matter of both how authentically *Indonesian* and how authentically *orthodox* foundational Islam was within the archipelago. The Chinese ethnicity of the actor chosen for Gunung Jati elicited public allegations that the filmmaker sided to excess with European, Orientalist sources which emphasized for political reasons the *foreignness* of Islam to Indonesia.^{cdlx} Citing the Ulema of Cirebon (where Gunung Jati allegedly founded a mosque, the Indonesian daily *Terbit* made the indigenist, anachronistic (and racially exclusionary) claim that “*Sunan Gunung Jati adalah orang Indonesia*” [“Sunan Gunung Jati is an Indonesian”]:

Karena dalam hal ini ada versi sejarah yang sengaja dikelirukan oleh penjajah Belanda dan golongan anti Agama Islam yang **melontarkan bahwa Wali Sanga itu terdiri dari orang Cina semua termasuk juga Sunan Gunung Jati**. Tujuan politis penjajah Belanda ketika itu justru untuk mengadu domba antara bangsa Indonesia dengan suku bangsa lainnya untuk melancarkan kekuasaan penjajahnya di pulau Jawa.^{cdlxii}

On this subject, there is a version of history that has been deliberately misrepresentative, promoted by the Dutch colonialists and an anti-Islamic circle, which asserts that **the nine saints [responsible for the spread of Islam in the Indonesian archipelago] were all Chinese, including Sunan Gunung Jati**. The political aim of the Dutch colonialists was precisely to set against one another the people of Indonesia with the people of other countries in order to ease the fortification of colonialism on the island of Java.^{cdlxiii}

(It should perhaps also be mentioned that this controversy follows in the wake of the prohibition of Slamet Muljana's history of the Chinese in the Islamization of the archipelago (originally published in 1968). In his historical work on the integral role that ethnic Chinese Indonesians played in the development of Indonesian nationalism—and in his depiction of ethnic Chinese joining forces against the Portugese in *Arus Balik*—Pram also recurrently worked against this anachronistic and exclusionary depiction of the Chinese as “non-Indonesians” in his fiction and historical research.)^{cdlxiv} Among those clerics contacted for comment on the film was Hamka, then chairman of the Indonesian council of Islamic clerics [M.U.I.], who took exception to the use of Javanese mysticism in the casting of the film, and to the Javacentricism of its setting and plot: “*Karena tindakan Mas Agung yang kabarnya sudah memeluk Agama Islam itu*

bertentangan dengan ajaran Agama Islam yang telah diperjuangkan oleh para Wali sehingga tersebar luas bukan saja dipulau Jawa tapi keseluruh Nusantara.”^{cdlxv} Hamka appears to have played a not insignificant role in the clerical protests against the film, concluding as chair of the M.U.I. that it was permissible to film on the subject of the *wali songo*, but not on the mystical basis of ‘*dawuh*’ or ‘*wangsit*’—and that filming the subject under the guidance of the MUI for historical accuracy was advisable. (One might imagine that a rendition in accordance with Hamka’s own four-volume work on the history of Islam in the region would have been deemed the more “objective” alternative—despite the protest it elicited among fellow clerics.)^{cdlxvi}

The controversy of depicting regional Islamic history in film during this period further extended to a prohibition of the planned film *Perang Padri* [*The Padri Wars*] on the religious wars in West Sumatra, fought between orthodox Sumatranese clerics and a traditional *adat* aristocracy in 1800-1837.^{cdlxvii} Featuring the *padri* cleric Imam Bonjol as the hero-protagonist, and culminating with the defeat of Imam Bonjol by the hero of the Java wars (Sentot) on behalf of the Dutch, the script was banned in 1981—the same year that Sembene’s *Ceddo* was finally allowed circulation in Senegal. Though set in pre-national Indonesia, the “internal” contours of enmity in the film—Sumatra’s clerics against its aristocracy, the depiction of wars of religious subjection between the Sumatranese, and the conquest of the Sumatranese (Imam Bonjol) by the Javanese (Sentot) under the pretext of Islamic religious unity—led the Indonesian New Order film censor to suggest alternative scenarios that de-emphasized internal differences while emphasizing external ones: to film instead the post 1820 period or the 1830-7 period, when *adat* and Islamic forces allegedly united to oppose the Dutch, or to render the Dutch the *scapegoat* of the film, depicting internal strife as a byproduct of colonial policies of divide and conquer, agitating muslims against an *adat* aristocracy.^{cdlxviii}

For both controversies and prohibitions, against the filming of *Perang Padri* [*Padri Wars*] and *Wali Songo* [*Nine Saints*], Krishna Sen's characterization of the ideological containment of "national" history during the New Order seems to hold, given that the ban on *The Padri Wars* [*Perang Padri*] glossed over the history of intra-religious and regional divisions, and the furor over *The Nine Saints* [*Wali Songo*] asserted the ethnic *difference* of Chinese Indonesians, but threw into public embarrassment the *difference* between sustained practices of Javanese mysticism and aspirations among the New Order's religious clerisy to a national, Islamic orthodoxy. The narration of the "national" in New Order cinema in other words tended, as Sen has shown, to favor the containment of regional, class, and generational differences, while emphasizing the divisions between "Us-Indonesian-Nation" and "Other-Dutch-Colonialists."^{cdlxix}

Sjuman Djaya after the decimation of the left:
historicism, vernacularism, and cinematic continuities in Indonesia's "New Order"

Although a scenario had been written for the film, Sjuman's *Wali Songo* [*Nine Saints*] never reached the screenwriting and filming phase due to the difficulty of establishing a historically accurate and uncontested basis for the narrative on the region's first Islamic proselytizers. Although the motivation for the film had been *devotional* on the part of the director, Sjuman's earlier reputation for irreverent cinematic portrayals of Indonesia's muslim clerisy,^{cdlxx} and questions about his ideological leanings after his cinematic training in Moscow, contributed to the antagonism.^{cdlxxi} Even in Sjuman's films where aspects of devotional Islam are questioned and challenged, however, these scenes tend to be coupled by others that convey the exemplary religiosity of the film's protagonists, suggesting the extent to which Sjuman delicately maneuvered the parameters established by a religious censor.^{cdlxxii} Sjuman's film *Si Doel Anak Betawi*, a film cited in the Indonesian press as an instance of his irreverence, offers

such an example: though the subtext of this historical film (set in 1940) contrasts the insufficiencies of rural Qur'anic schooling with the beginnings of the Indonesian nationalist school system, in its opening and closing musical sequences and accompanying refrains, the piety of the protagonist (and his self-discipline in memorizing the Qur'an) are among his sung accomplishments. Sjuman's historical film on the proto-nationalist, feminist figure Raden Ajeng Kartini offers a second example, depicting the eponymous protagonist debating with her imam about the sustained use of the devotional Arabic language in Java, challenging its status as a language beyond translation into her own native Javanese; but in the course of this extraordinary scene her religiosity is never in question. The debate is clearly framed as one inspired by her intellectual curiosity and religious devotion, and her own position is staunchly defended by her familiarity with the *hadith* (sayings) of the prophet, instead of being motivated by her doubts about the unique veracity of the Qur'an as a religious text. That Sjuman's heroine embeds her challenge within the logic of the traditions of the faith suggests the extent to which Sjuman delicately maneuvered the parameters of a religious censor, protecting himself perhaps against public charges of heresy—particularly given that, though the biopic was based on Kartini's biography, this particular scene appears to have been an *invention* of Sjuman's.

Despite media protest against his Soviet training in Moscow, and recurrent accusations against him for making “socialist realist” films during the New Order (particularly on the occasion of Sjuman's appointment to the New Order's film censorship bureau),^{cdlxxiii} it is generally unclear what these charges, when expressed, in substance *protest* against his films. These (undersubstantiated) charges in the Indonesian press, in other words, suggest that their motivations *against* him were due more to a general suspicion of his Soviet training after the Indonesian Communist Party fell into disfavor in 1965 (the the year of his return from the USSR)

than to a precise understanding or assertion of what cinematic *socialist-realism* may have entailed for Sjuman. To complicate matters further—and beyond the cultural polemics of Indonesia’s New Order—it is additionally unclear what it would have meant to interpret Sjuman’s films as both emulations of a Soviet, cinematic paradigm and as examples of “socialist-realist” cinema, given the disputes within the Soviet Union on the disjuncture between classic “Soviet montage” (marginalized in the Soviet Union after the 1930s) and official Soviet policy (after the 1930s) for producing films of a more monolithic, “representational style.”^{cdlxxiv} Though experimental montage “ceased to [be] the characteristic strategy of Soviet film-making around 1930,” the legacy of its chief pioneers in the Soviet Union (Eisenstein, Vertov, Kuleshov, Pudovkin), who collectively theorized that “filmic meaning” emerges from an “assemblage of heterogenous parts,” “a juxtaposition of fragments,” “demand[ing] the audience to make conceptual connections,” is nonetheless discernable in Sjuman’s films.^{cdlxxv}

In the rare, documented cases in which Sjuman publicly addressed the issue of his Soviet training, his association of “Russian Editing” [“Editing Rusis”] with a Soviet model is evident—as was his pride in his early association with the Soviet Union, a subject about which he had recurrently to defend himself: “*Saya berbangga dengan alma mater saya, Rusia, meskipun ada orang tamatan Rusia tetapi ngakunya Amerika.*” [I take pride in my alma mater, Russia, though there are those educated in Russia who acknowledge America”].^{cdlxxvi} It is nonetheless equally clear that Sjuman emphasized that the *relevance* of Soviet cinema for Indonesian filmmaking had more to do with its successful, protectionist model for the establishment of a distinctive national cinema (growing to international prominence), than for the Indonesian adaptation of an ideologically charged, Soviet, cinematic style. His claim, in other words, was that government protectionism of the Soviet film industry had allowed Russia to develop its own, characteristic

modes of filmmaking—an “*editing rusis*”— but that the Indonesian government left its filmmakers in a pyrrhic struggle against local commercial interests, a local “*bourgeois kelontong*” [peddler bourgeoisie] who merely viewed film as a “thing for sale.”^{cdlxxvii} Responding to accusations of his leftist ideological leanings, and in what might have been taken as an inflammatory statement among leftist circles, Sjuman in one press interview claimed himself “pro-bourgeois,” supportive of an *entrepreneurial* bourgeois (in the European mould), for those responsible for the invention of film technology as opposed to Indonesia’s home-grown “peddler bourgeois,” whose status instead depends on expropriation rather than innovation:

Secara nasional pun borjuis Indonesia tidak pernah melahirkan industry, tidak melahirkan ilmu pengetahuan atau teknologi seperti borjuis Eropa. [...] Borjuasi kita dilahirkan untuk menguras habis kekayaan alam. [...] Saya selalu kalah meskipun tidak ada orang yang menjelek-jelekkan film saya dari segi filmis.^{cdlxxviii}

Even on a national level, Indonesia’s bourgeoisie have never given birth to industry, or science, or technology like the bourgeoisie of Europe. [...] Our bourgeoisie was made to exhaust our natural wealth. [...] Even when none besmirch my work on a filmic level, I already lose every time I make a film.^{cdlxxix}

If Pram was an early defender of “socialist-realist” influences in Indonesian literature and history and if, in his work on socialist-realism, he considered Hollywood filmmaking the height of commercialist, bourgeois literature (signified by the conclusive, “escapist,” “happy endings” characteristic of Hollywood cinema),^{cdlxxx} Sjuman’s films, despite their sustained emphasis on historicism and class-conflict, evince a strong formal eclecticism—a variety of popular influences, including the *martial arts* film (in *Laila Majnun* and *Si Doel Anak Betawi*), Hollywood-inspired musicals (with *Laila Majnun*’s emulation of the American *West Side Story*), and slapstick comedy (in *Si Mamad*), all films tending to conclusive, melodramatic endings. Where Sembene’s films, however, often engage their audience by ending with abrupt, inconclusive scenes of social disorder— with, for example, mid-action shots of beggars taking over a klepotcrat’s home in *Xala*, or the mid-action assassination of an imam in *Ceddo*, or even

the momentary (Brechtian) stepping “out of character” of his actors in *Mandabi*—Sjuman appears to favor closure with the conclusion of his films. He tends, however, to instead play on class conflict through the disorienting opening scenes of his films, which often suggest the arbitrariness of class divisions as they come to be dramatized. For example, Sjuman’s *Si Mamad* (based in part on Chekhov’s *Inspector General* and originally entitled *The Death of a Bureaucrat*) opens with the eponymous protagonist in a colonial-era clerk’s uniform: though revealed in the film’s opening scenes to be a mark of distinction in the rural outskirts of Jakarta, this earlier affect is undone when he is mistaken for a menial *pesuruh* or busboy in the post-colonial capital due to his “white-collar” costume. In *Si Doel Anak Betawi*, the film opens with a mass brawl among young boys in a rural village, a scene clearly influenced by *kung-fu* or martial arts cinema—though, in the case of Sjuman’s film, they appear to be fighting the traditional form of Indonesian *silat*. The opening martial arts sequence renders these young fighters, armed with only their bare hands, indistinguishable from one another in the visually leveling arena of an open village square, suggesting the arbitrariness of status differences that are later revealed to be the motive behind the brawl. Martial arts scenes are additionally deployed in the Hollywood-style *Laila Majnun* (inspired by the American film *West Side Story*), scenes which dramatize the gentrification of Indonesia’s expanding capital city, and the displacement of Jakarta’s urban poor in the course of this expansion. The fight sequences are accompanied by contrasts in popular music, to distinguish between an upper- and lower-class collective within the film—*dangdu*^{cdlxxxix} for the displaced gangs of urban poor, and “western” music for the cosmopolitan elite.^{cdlxxxii} If Sjuman frequently employs (and to melodramatic effect) conclusive, “happy endings,” these conclusions nonetheless *complete* the characteristic ironies enabled by his film’s disorienting opening scenes. In the case of *Budak Nafsu* [*Slave of Lust*], for example, on the subject of

Indonesian “comfort women” during the Japanese occupation, the protagonist’s improbable and melodramatic reunion with her long lost daughter after suffering through years of sexual slavery completes and tempers the irony of the film’s opening, in which she proved *insulted* by the distant admiration of a male servant in her own household.

Though generally portrayed through a more realist or mimetic, narrative register, the film also employs jarring and (socially charged) juxtapositions of shots to rhetorical effect—building, in other words, “assemblage[s] of shots which creat[e] a new synthesis, an overall meaning that lies not within each part but in the very fact of juxtaposition.”^{cdlxxxiii} Featuring the sexual enslavement of Indonesian comfort women during the Japanese occupation of Southeast Asia in the Second World War, *Sjuman* assumes his perhaps most obvious Eisensteinian gestures (in a few striking montage sequences that encapsulate the central drama of the film). The first is an associative montage which allusively depicts the gang rape of the protagonist, a scene which would have been impossible to mimetically portray on-screen at the time of the filming; *Sjuman* resolves this through a scene of the protagonist on a bed inter-cut with shots of faces painted to resemble a series of hovering Japanese masks.^{cdlxxxiv} In another striking, associative montage, *Sjuman* intercuts a shot of the Japanese flag into a scene of *Harikiri*—the ritual suicide of a Japanese officer at the moment of Japan’s surrender to the allies: the shot of a Japanese flag is interposed after the removal of the dagger from its sheath in an association that visually equates the flag (a red circle on a white background) with an image of contamination, the spread of blood and the staining of an otherwise white space. (Though it is unclear to what extent this was intended, it is the contemporary flag of Japan employed instead of the more historically accurate, Imperial flag of the rising sun which would have been both less politically provocative and less visually striking.) One of the concluding scenes of the film is also among its most politically

charged, as its visual contrasts challenge the sustained neglect (during the time of the filming) suffered by this demographic of former comfort women in postcolonial Indonesia, where the commercial interests of a once occupying power flourished after independence. This is dramatized through a striking scene in which the protagonist—an impoverished social outcast, syphilitic, and losing her mind as a “former prostitute”—rambles aimlessly through the streets of Jakarta. The scene poises her before a black background, illuminated solely by commercial signs that successively flash on the screen behind her, advertising the names of Japanese firms ubiquitous in the nation’s capital.

Though embedded in a narrative that depicts the historical struggle for independence from *both* the Japanese (during the interregnum of the Second World War) and from the Dutch, these montage sequences encapsulate the contemporary social critique at the center of the film: the subordination of historical grievances to commercial interests, and the complicity of the nation’s monied elite in this sustainment. If, as Sen has argued, the narration of national history in New Order (post 1965) cinema has tended to emphasize the divisions between “Us-Indonesian-Nation” and “Other-Dutch-Colonialists” while containing class and generational differences, Sjuman’s *Budak Nafsu* crosses the threshold, deploying this axis of difference from an occupying power to highlight the grievances of a forgotten, outcast demographic within post-colonial Indonesia—a demographic to which Pram later paid tribute in his historical work on the “comfort women” imprisoned on Buru Island, *Perawan Remaja dalam Cengkeraman Militer*.^{cdlxxxv}

Social harmony as social tragedy: reading Pram’s Kartini in Sjuman’s biopic
(Subverting the New Order *adiluhung*)

As demonstrated by both *Budak Nafsu* and Sjuman’s biopic *Kartini*, Sjuman shares with

Pramoedya and Sembene an emphasis on both the feminist and populist dimension of national history.^{cdlxxxvi} Though Sjunan filmed his biopic on Kartini when Pramoedya's own biography of the Indonesian, nationalist heroine remained under prohibition, it appears that Pram's approach heavily informed (or, at least, paralleled) Sjunan's dramatization.^{cdlxxxvii} As Sen has emphasized in her account of New Order media ideology, the javanization of Indonesia's ruling elite after the political decimation of the left in 1965 was accompanied by the transformation of leftist women's organizations during the New Order, with the "replacement of women's organizations by 'wives' organizations," "state-sponsored organizations within which women [were] ranked in accordance with their husband's position in the bureaucracy."^{cdlxxxviii} Pemberton and Florida have additionally demonstrated that the prevailing cultural discourse of the New Order "privilege[ed] stability and order as dominant characteristics of Javanese culture."^{cdlxxxix} Along with this bureaucratic domination of the Javanese elite, cultural discourse during the New Order tended to "idealize a refined Javanese culture through the lenses of what is taken to be the culture of the traditional elite, that is, the *priyayi*," in the resurrection of what Florida has called "the cult of the *adiluhung*," of a sublime, idealized past^{cdxc}:

[The] early-twentieth-century move toward the construction of tradition [was] repeated and intensified under the aegis of Soeharto's self-proclaimed New Order government. Perhaps reacting against a differently constructed relationship with the past enjoyed in the radically populist Revolutionary and Sukarno eras, New Order *adiluhung* rhetoric is eerily reminiscent of the late colonial voice. Highlighting what is imagined as the super-refined and spiritualized ways of traditional *priyayi* [aristocracy] and then contrasting them with those of the so-called coarse and material West, the New Order Javanese elite have invented a vision of their very own *adiluhung* [Javanese: beautiful sublime] heritage as the somewhat endangered pinnacle of cultural development, the preservation (and reservation) of which they see as a 'sacred duty.'^{cdxc1}

It is in this light that Pramoedya's "Old Order" and Sjunan's "New Order," populist rendering of an aristocratic, proto-nationalist Javanese activist (Kartini) should be re-read: Pram's biography of Kartini works against this notion of a sublime and harmonious Javanese past, a refinement

built on systemic forms of violent subordination and class conflict, in an approach that complements his other fiction critical of class hierarchies in “traditional” Java (most evident in *Arok Dedes* and *Gadis Pantai* [*Girl from the Coast*]). Sjuman’s New Order biopic on Kartini extends the sympathies evident in Pram’s Old Order approach, while subverting the New Order “cult” of a harmonious Javanese past *from within* New Order cultural discourse.^{cdxcii} Although copies of Pram’s biography on Kartini were initially destroyed in the early 1960s, and although his work on Kartini was prohibited after his release from prison,^{cdxciii} Sjuman’s biopic sustains the sympathies of Pram’s Old Order biography, subverting the New Order “cult of the *adiluhung*” by suggesting (from the vantage point of Kartini’s peasant-mother) that the external appearance of order and harmony within feudal Java signifies the naturalization of social injustice among Java’s underclass. In his highly aestheticized biopic of Kartini’s feudal, Javanese household, the film encompasses a radically populist message, by suggesting that the order and harmony associated with a “traditional” Javanese past is part of its social tragedy, for it depends on the interiorized under-entitlement of Java’s peasant masses.

The following analysis builds on observations made by Rutherford on the two (unrivaled) principal biographies written on Kartini during the “Old Order” (after independence and before 1965) and the “New Order” (after 1965). Contrasting with Pramoedya’s, unrivaled, “Old Order” biography on Kartini is a work which Rutherford designates as the predominant “New Order” biography of this nationalist heroine, written by the journalist Soeroto (in 1977), characterizing her populism as a form of “noblesse oblige.” As Rutherford observes, this biographical account of Kartini dominant in the New Order (written in 1977 by the journalist Soeroto) “locates [Kartini] in the naturalized categories and boundaries of the State,” Pramoedya’s “Old Order” biography locates “Kartini and her people [in] a history of struggle.”^{cdxciv} As Rutherford points

out—and this is precisely where Sjaman’s cinematic resolution is closer to Pramoedya’s rendition than to Soeroto’s “New Order” rendition— “where Soeroto brushes aside Kartini’s mixed blood, Pramoedya makes it a key element in her consciousness.”^{cdxcv} If Soeroto “negates any link between Kartini’s parentage and her later nationalism,” Pram’s^{cdxcvi} “inserts her maternal ancestors into a parade of their own, aligning Kartini not only with the people’s [aristocratic] defenders, but with the people themselves. [...] Kartini’s mother was born in Jepara to the foreman of a private sugar factory.”^{cdxcvii}

Sjaman’s biopic takes after Pramoedya’s historical work on Kartini, similarly dramatizing her identification with the “people” as a sympathy grounded in her double lineage (of peasant mother and noble father), in her being more than just the exceptional product of a colonial Dutch education (as had been the prevalent colonial era interpretation) and more than an ideal apprentice to her father’s *noblesse oblige* (as was the predominant emphasis of the New Order biography (written by the Indonesian journalist Soeroto). In keeping with Pram’s “Old Order” approach, Sjaman focuses on her common cause with her lowborn mother, and on her concern with her mother’s status within the family, to frame both the progressive sympathies across class that characterize her as a proto-nationalist figure, but also to resolve her life’s final contradiction—to reconcile with this progressivism her ultimate resignation to a polygamous marriage, despite her early protests to the contrary.^{cdxcviii} For, if the first half of the film depicts the childhood context of her parents’ polygamy—on her birth mother’s status as a commoner, kept apart from the formal family home, and if the film develops through Kartini’s ultimate protest against her mother’s distance (as a low-class co-wife), this sympathy for her peasant birth mother also offers the logic of Kartini’s ultimate acceptance of her low-status co-wives—who she (in the fiction of the film) belatedly discovers and refuses to expel from her marital home for

fear of their poverty. Instead of being, then, a regressive act of submission to an ailing father (as Pram and Soeroto both conclude), Sjuman reinterprets her marriage as an act of feminine solidarity across class—a feminine solidarity across the divisions of class which Sjuman takes pains to highlight in the course of his film, characterizing as broader emblematic successes (and signs of Kartini’s progressive politics) domestic moments through which she ultimately challenges the persistence of class divisions within the family. Sjuman, in this respect, and more in keeping with Pramoedya’s approach, resolving the “problem” of reading as a nationalist or proto-nationalist, populist figure an aristocratic woman divorced—by virtue of her class and gender—from the public realms of the peasant masses and electoral politics.

One of the details that distinguishes Pramoedya’s “Old Order” Kartini from Soeroto’s “New Order” rendition is Pram’s speculation on the domestic and architectural division between the residence of Kartini’s aristocratic father and her low class birth-mother, of which Pram concludes (on the strength of a family photograph) that Kartini’s peasant birth-mother lived humbly apart.

Hanya saja Kartini tidak dilahirkan di gedung utama sebagaimana kebanyakan saudari-saudarinya yang lebih tua. Dia dilahirkan di bagian bangunan keasistenwedanaan, sebuah rumah kecil dari tembok yang terletak agak jauh dari gedung utama. Gambar pertama R.A.A Sukahar [a photograph of the home of her birth, included among her published letters] menunjukkan sebuah rumah kecil dari tembok, beratap rendah. Di sanalah Kartini lahir, di bagian tempat tinggal selir atau istri ke sekian dan kesekian. Rumah kecil itu dibedakan dari gedung utama—perbedaan yang menjelaskan kelainan kedudukan antara penghuninya daripada penghuni gedung utama, sekalipun di pekarangan yang sama.^{cdxcix}

Kartini was not born in the primary building [of her father’s manor] as many of her elder siblings had been. She was born in the section of a building designated for the residence of an assistant chief, a small house with walls situated rather far from the primary residence. A photograph of the home of her birth, included among her published letters, reveals a small walled home, with a low roof. It is there where Kartini was born, in one of the places designated for the residence of a concubine or wife of whatever number [*ke sekian dan kesekian*]. That small

home was differentiated from the principal building—a difference that made clear the unequal status between the inhabitants [of this small home] and the residents of the principal building, even though they shared a single yard.^d

If Pram's extensive treatment of the domestic separation of her mother from her father's official, principal residence, is a detail not included in Soeroto's "New Order" biography, Pram emphasizes its importance to her formation as a populist and a feminist, working against feudal practices of polygamy and domestic class hierarchies.^{di} As Pram reflects, on reading Kartini's own letters:

Bukankah menurut Kartini sendiri, ibu tuanya seorang feodal keturunan Ratu Madura? Sedang ibunya sendiri seorang anak rakyat kebanyakan anak seorang mandor pabrik gula? Sudah sejak jabang bayi Kartini telah menerima diskriminasi social yang tidak adil [...]. Sejak bayi ia sudah merasai perbedaan antara gedung utama dan rumah luar, tempat di mana ia dilahirkan.^{dii}

Was it not the case that, according to Kartini herself, her step-mother was a feudal woman descended from the Queen of Madura? While her own birth-mother was one of too many children descended from the overseer of a sugar factory, one of the masses? Already since birth, Kartini experienced the injustice of social discrimination [...]. Since the time she was born, she could already feel the difference between the principal building [of her father] and the exterior home where she was born.^{diii}

If, in keeping with New Order trends to idealize a Javanese past, Sjuman depicts the ceremonial stratification of Kartini's aristocratic household in picturesque, highly aestheticized (*lemban*) scenes, his emphasis on this architectural division of Kartini's *domestic space* underscores the populist reading that Pram lends to his biography of Kartini.^{div}

Although his "New Order" contemporary (Soeroto) writing on Kartini says little of this segregated domestic space,^{dv} Sjuman makes of this segregation a central concern in his film, setting several climactic scenes around the separated compound of Kartini's lower-status birth-mother. The film opens with an elaborate procession, as the lord of the house, Kartini's father, ceremonially traverses the distance from his formal residence to the humbler compound of his

peasant-wife or concubine^{dvi} upon the evening of Kartini's birth. It is a hierarchical distance thrown into further relief by the purpose of his visit: to suggest to his peasant wife that her newborn child be removed from her side, to be raised instead by his principal aristocratic wife within his formal household. A pregnant pause follows his suggestion, during which the blank expression on the face of Kartini's peasant mother might be read as one of shock and consternation; but, in what demonstrates the perverse logic of feudal domesticity, the expression of the peasant-mother changes to one of pleasure at the news of her daughter's removal, revealing the suggestion to be an honor unexpected, understood by the peasant mother as an act of generosity rather than deprivation.

Subsequent, key scenes further emphasize the tragedy of the naturalized subordination of Kartini's peasant-mother, Ngasirah. As the newborn Kartini ages into a toddler, the little girl appears embedded in the domestic space of the aristocratic home, but is viewed traversing the distance between the main home and her mother's remote compound. One such scene follows Kartini as a little girl, running from her father's formal home to her birth-mother's humbler compound, presented in long shots that emphasize the *distance* of Kartini's lower-status mother from the formal space of Kartini's aristocratic father. The scene culminates in a close-up shot that features the little girl standing before her birth-mother, who kneels at her feet. Kartini addresses her mother in the coarser form of low Javanese (*ngoko*), to which her mother deferentially responds in ceremonial, high Javanese—as a servant would address a lord—or as one would address a respected *elder*. (To translate the strangeness of this exchange: one might compare this to a child addressing her mother in an informal manner, as in the French *tutoyer*, and the mother returning in a deferential form of address, as in the French *vouvoyer*.) The perversity of a parental relationship thus complicated by polygamous class hierarchies—and the

perversity of a child addressing her birth-mother as one would a servant in low Javanese —plays on the apparent absurdity of this scene given the expectations of language use in Javanese, according to which respected *elders* (one's parents) are strictly addressed in the higher (more dignified) form of the language (*kromo*).^{dvii}

In another scene centered on this spatial division, Sjuman demonstrates how Kartini's double lineage and *populism* radically distinguish her from the rest of her aristocratic family's *noblesse oblige*. This is accomplished through a final, climactic scene that reveals her populism to be borne from a unique sympathy, even *within her family*, for her low-borne birth-mother; it is a sympathy dramatized through a prosaic—but highly symbolic—final act, of crossing the distance from her father's primary mansion to the humbler abode of her birth-mother. In an act that radically disrupts the conventions of her father's household, Kartini extends an invitation to her peasant mother, Ngasirah, to join her aristocratic family at the formal residence, to dine at table as equals (in European fashion). The success—and central importance—of Kartini crossing this space cannot be overlooked, as Sjuman, upon the success of her invitation, positions Kartini in the iconic place of a messianic figure, interpreting Kartini's prosaic act of domestic equality as an emblematic victory. Featuring Kartini bathed in a crown of light, flanked by her father, birth-mother, and aristocratic step-mother and messianically poised in the style of Da Vinci's last supper, this scene is often misunderstood, and was initially read in the Indonesian press as a sign of Sjuman's excessive idealization of Kartini. Its iconography nonetheless assumes its greatest relevance when contrasted with the dramatic sequence of shots that precede it.

Throwing into relief the measure of Kartini's success is a jarring montage that reveals Ngasirah's private torment at the radical prospect of crossing a seemingly unbridgeable, domestic space. It builds on a central juxtaposition of images: first of Kartini with her noble

parents (father and step-mother) waiting outside Ngasirah's humble compound as she prepares to join them. But these long shots of waiting and suspension are intercut with others that reveal Ngasirah alone in the interior of her humble home, disgusted with herself as she gazes and sobs at her reflection in the mirror, shamed by the prospect of her presentation at the manor house, which would throw into relief her own lowliness. If Ngasirah accepted (as Soeroto implies) her subordinate station, and if (as Soeroto implies) her naturalized acceptance of this arrangement contributed to the apparent order and harmony of Kartini's household, Sjuman suggests (more in keeping with Pramoedya's interpretation) that this interiorized sense of a peasant co-wife's *inferiority* is part of the social tragedy that formed Kartini's conscience as a feminist and as a progressive, proto-nationalist figure.

A final suggestion that Sjuman's approach to the figure of Kartini parallels that of Pramoedya, and that Sjuman may have been using Pramoedya as a source on Kartini lies in their common interpretation of a highly charged historical document written (originally in Dutch) by Kartini at the turn of the century. It is a letter in which Kartini laments to a Dutch friend the inscrutability of Arabic to most Javanese Muslims, despite their religious imperative to memorize and hold in reverence a language that they do not understand.^{dviii} A fascinating detail emerges with the fact that the passage (within this letter) used by Sjuman as a voice-over is cited in Pram's work—but not excerpted in Soeroto's:

Tentang ajaran agama Islam itu, tak dapat aku menceritakannya, Stella, [karena] Ia melarang para pemeluknya mempercakapkannya dengan orang lain yang tidak seiman. Dan bagaimanapun, aku adalah seorang Muslimat, karena leluhurku beragama Islam. Bagaimana mungkin aku bisa mencintai agamaku, kalau aku tidak mengenalnya? Tidak boleh mengetahuinya? Qur'an terlalu suci untuk diterjemahkan dalam bahasa apapun. Di sini tiada seorang pun mengenal bahasa Arab.^{dix}

I cannot tell you about Islamic teachings Stella. Its followers are forbidden to

discuss it with those of another faith. And, to be honest, I am a Muslim only because my ancestors were. How can I love my teachings if I do not know them, may not know them? The Koran is too holy to be translated into any language. Here [in Central Java] nobody knows Arabic.^{dx}

Although Kartini's New Order biographer, Soeroto, had access to the letter (dated November 6, 1899, to her Dutch associate Stella Zeehandelaar, correspondence from 1899-1903), and although Soeroto references other aspects of this letter at multiple points in her biography,^{dx} she evidently chooses not to emphasize or dramatize this in the way that Pram and Sjuman evidently do. If Pram cites this passage to contemplate Kartini's religious formation, it appears to be Sjuman's innovation to make of Kartini's birth-mother the catalyst to the observations made within this excerpt on Arabic as an inscrutable acrolect in Java. In this scene, Kartini observes her birth-mother praying in Arabic and discovers that her birth mother recites Arabic prayers which she fails to understand. Kartini subsequently questions her (male) cleric about the licitness of using Arabic (untranslated) as a devotional language, in a scene in which the (aforementioned) passage is used as a voice over. A debate ensues in which Kartini cites a *hadith* (saying of the prophet), according to which those that withhold knowledge will be subject to eternal punishment—suggesting that the possession of knowledge which remains *untranslated* is tantamount to its *withholding*. (The scene in Sjuman's film, in which the letter features as a voice over, appears to have been an *invention* on his part, given that a debate on these terms does not appear in Kartini's own letters, and given that Kartini's education in the Qur'an was with a *female santri* (religious student).)^{dxii}

If this scene in Sjuman's film depicts the eponymous protagonist debating with her *imam* about the unrivaled use of devotional Arabic, challenging its status as a language beyond translation into other languages, in the course of this extraordinary scene her religiosity is nonetheless never in question. The debate is clearly presented as one inspired by her intellectual

curiosity, religious devotion, and sympathy for her birth-mother; and her own position is staunchly defended by her familiarity with the hadith of the prophet, instead of being motivated by her doubts about the veracity of the Qur'an as a religious text. The scene is characteristic of Sjunan's films in that, when aspects of devotional Islam are questioned, the challenge is invariably coupled with elements that convey in a completely straightforward manner the exemplary religiosity of a film's protagonists. Nonetheless, to read this final scene of Sjunan's alongside Pram's work further suggests that both Sjunan as a filmmaker and Pram as a novelist and historian have embedded in their work a dramatized challenge to the exclusive use of sacralized prestige languages for devotional purposes, and privileged vernacularization as a sign of populism (in ways not dissimilar to Sembene's tendencies in Senegal).

Conclusion:

To compare Sjunan's biopic alongside Pram's historical research and fiction, then, it is evident that certain parallels in their work demonstrate a shared emphasis in their reading of Indonesian nationalist or proto-nationalist history—beyond the ideological shift that conventionally separates pre- and post-1965 cultural production. Although both Pramoedya (through Soviet, socialist-realist models) and Sjunan (through Soviet Montage or “Editing Rusis”) evince in their work the transnational, ideologically charged influences of leftist literature and film, it is clear given their common concern with Indonesian historicism and with their shared dignification of a local, vernacular idiom the fundamentally national relevance and orientation of their work. It is in this light that the common, historical divisions that conventionally separate readings of “New Order” and “Old Order” cultural production, that separate the leftist, revolutionary valence of “Old Order” cultural discourse from the aestheticized, Javanized forms

dominant in the “New Order,” might be re-read.

From monoglossia to unisonance:

*Language choice, “the tension between memory and forgetting,” and the nationalization of
Chairil Anwar’s poetry in comparative perspective*

“An era of ‘isms’ is a one-sided party for one-sided dancers.
What I admire is the violence, the passion with which they brawl!”^{dxiii}
Chairil Anwar

Introduction:

To conclude the joint analysis of two case studies on Senegal and Indonesia, where the Indonesian case has thus far focused on prose work, the present chapter builds on a study of poetic form and poetry’s reception to explore the following questions: how is a poet’s relationship to precedent qualified through a poet’s choice between competing languages and competing scripts? How does the choice of poetic language factor into the politics of recognition, particularly when this poetry is written in a *regional* or “sub-national” language? As Jahan Ramazani has highlighted in his recent work on poetic transnationalism, comparative studies of poetry have generally lost precedence to those of prose-fiction, contributing to the general impression that poetry remains the most immobile of literary genres.^{dxiv} Where studies of transnational poetry have been pursued, he further observes, they tend to move through the paths of least resistance, along “the lines of old imperialisms” in their singular attention to poetry within a former colonial language (“global Anglophone” or “global Francophone”), often examining poetic takes “on opposite sides of the colonial divide.”^{dxv} The present chapter, proceeding again with the query raised by Ngũgĩ wa Thiong’o on the problem of language choice, seeks to build on the preceding chapters on Senegal and Indonesia to explore a method of comparative reading beyond “the lines of old imperialisms,” taking as a point of departure a comparative analysis of Chairil Anwar, the Malay language poet whose legacy, like that of Senghor in Senegal, has come to dominate a national, poetic canon.

It would be remiss, at this juncture, not to reference Mikhail Bakhtin's distinction between the "monoglossia" of verse and the "heteroglossia" of prose genres, and to point to the *telos* that his distinction implies towards the progressive abandonment of versification. Bakhtin, as has been widely observed, tends to subordinate poetry to prose genres, upholding the novel in its diversity as a relatively polyphonic, heteroglossic, and dialogic form, able "to stage the social diversity of speech and languages by juxtaposing consciousnesses."^{dxvi} The suggestion subtending this distinction is that the progress of literary history moves away from poetry's monoglossia, from the constraints of versification and the poet's monopolization of speech, advancing towards the heteroglossia of prose genres and the prosaicization of poetry. In his defense of Bakhtin's metalingual distinction between these literary forms, regarding them not as essential features of each genre but rather according to their "sociopolitical and functional" effects,^{dxvii} Hirshkop suggests that:

Poetic monologicity reveals itself as a matter of functionalization and intention rather than essence or genre: poetry and novelistic discourse are two possibilities of an author's particular linguistic intention. [...] Poetry and novelistic discourse can be viewed as the diametrically opposed modalities of literary discourse, marking, as it were, the lower and the upper limits, respectively, of the degree of a literary utterance's enactment of the natural dialogicity of language, that is, of a literary utterance's polyphony.^{dxviii}

As Eskin concludes (of Hirschkop's observation): "Dialogicity [...] is not only possible but, in fact, always already constitutes poetry. It is artistic discourse that 'produces or reproduces a relation of submission to an authoritative language, whereas [novelistic discourse] subverts this authority.'"^{dxix} Building on Bakhtin's distinctions, and on Eskin and Hirschkop's qualification of them, a number of questions arise of particular importance for the present summation on poetry, script rupture, and language choice. On what terms does poetry perform its "submission to an authoritative language"? What becomes of the anterior dialogicity of a poem for the diglossic or bilingual poet, as each of the poets examined here are, in this intentional movement towards monoglossia? What are the politics (or implications) of abandoning versified forms, when

versification is the mnemonic remnant of a vernacular language that has lost its script? How *fair* to oral vernaculars is Bakhtin's distinction between progress as the scattering of language and regress as its versified constraint?

Bakhtin's additional suggestion that "the language of poetic genres . . . becomes authoritarian," meaning that "such ideas as a special 'poetic language,' a 'language of the gods,' a 'priestly language of poetry' [...] could flourish on poetic soil,"^{dxv} has particular resonance where devotional poetry from Senegal and Indonesia, from West Africa and Southeast Asia, have complemented the sustained sacralization of language. If Bakhtin (as surmised by Hirschkop) is correct that poetry performs in its relative monoglossia a form of subordination to an authoritative, unifying language, would this then suggest that poetry (over prose) more strongly or centripetally performs that which Benedict Anderson describes as *imagining the nation*? If Anderson is correct that nationalism emerges as a kind of faith for the disenchanted, transforming contingency into meaning in a secular age, how is this qualified by the sustained *presence* of sacralized languages and script-forms—or of their *displacement* in the projection of a nationalized language? To what extent do the invention of certain ideological, and normative constructs—of "tradition" and "modernity"—serve this purpose? And to what extent might the relative heteroglossia of the novel as a form be seen to counteract a state-centric movement towards monoglossia at key moments of national formation?

Of particular importance in addressing these questions within the Indonesian case are James Siegel's observations on "the play of language" and the politics of recognition in the Dutch East Indies (and later Indonesia).^{dxvi} As Siegel has observed, the linguistic dynamic through which a non-native *lingua franca* (Malay) was transformed from a regional language of trade into the nationalized language of Indonesia has meant a peculiar form of internal

displacement among speakers (and writers) of Indonesian, given its position as a non-European but also non-native *lingua franca*. Siegel highlights that, through the promotion and standardization of this *lingua franca* as a colonial, administrative language, a sustained diglossia coincided with the centripetal, linguistic movement through which “recognition became centered in the Indonesian nation”.^{dxix}

When one speaks two languages, one of which is one's first language and the other not, one has two 'I's and one habitually shifts between them with the possibility always opened of developing different persona for each. At certain moments, the hearing of language becomes acute and the possibility of shifting between texts, between languages, locating oneself in different worlds alternately, without making one of them primary, or even merging these worlds is taken advantage of.^{dxix}

In the present chapter, which deals with poetry's alleged tendency to monoglossia, and with the relationship between monoglossia and the formation of a nationalized, poetic canon, Siegel's emphasis on the diglossic context of most speakers of Indonesian, who choose between a native vernacular—Javanese or Minang, for example—and this second, “non-native” *lingua franca* (nationalized Malay) is of particular importance. Given that the centripetal, linguistic movement through which “recognition became centered in the Indonesian nation” was borne of a sustained diglossia, the present chapter considers to what extent assertions to “modern,” “national” poetry written amidst this “play of languages” subsume within themselves the traces of lost alternatives—within the presence of a linguistically based ideology of national unity (as codified by the 1928, nationalist youth declaration of allegiance to one language, nation, and people).^{dxix}

Borrowing a trope from the Indonesian poet Goenawan Muhammad in his writing on nationalism and Indonesian poetry,^{dxix} the current chapter is also structured through a movement in scale, considering “the tension between forgetting and remembering” within different strata of a poem, within the projection of a poem's implied audience, and within the historical reception (and mythicization) of a poet's *oeuvre*. Poetry as a genre depends, and more frequently than prose, on this tension--on the mnemonic function of versification and rhyme, on the play of

terms repeated and displaced. To the extent that the internal constraints of a poem build on poetic precedent, these formal aspects of a poem might be considered linguistically dependent and culturally contingent—dependent on the poet’s chosen language and implied precedents. Beginning with a comparative reading of Léopold Senghor and Chairil Anwar’s inaugural poems—both elegies, respectively entitled “*In Memoriam*” and “*Nisan*” [“*Epitaph*”]—the present chapter explores the ways in which the tension between memory and forgetting can be read into different and potentially inter-related dimensions of poetic form and public reception. In this respect, the joint reading considers how the implication of a *lost* language community—or of an audience self-consciously foregone—complements poetic form. In examining the tension between what is remembered and forgotten, the chapter proceeds through a discussion of the local legacy of both poets, and compares the poetic challenges presented to their canonization. The final segment of the chapter sustains this thematic concern, on the tension between memory and forgetting, but shifts in scale: considering the tension between collective amnesia and commemoration in the national mythicization of a poet’s work, focusing more singularly on the legacy of Chairil Anwar in Indonesia, and on the nationalization of his poetry. The structure of the chapter might otherwise be seen to move from a focus on the social poetics of “monoglossia” to that of “unisonance”—from the centripetal *positing* of a national or nationalized language, projected through poetry in the pre-independence period, to the canonization of national poetry and its language through the memorialization of a poet’s verse—through its collective re-citation or imagined “unisonance” after the birth of the nation.

Choosing one's dead: Chairil Anwar and Léopold Sédar Senghor's Inaugural Elegies

Chairil Anwar's inaugural poem, "*Nisan*" ("Epitaph"), proceeds through a series of perverted expectations which depend not only on the elegiac subject of the poem, but also on its construction as a play on the traditional *pantun* form: four lines of verse, with an alternating rhyme scheme, where the first two preparatory lines (the *pembayang*) frame the meaning (or *maksud*) revealed in the final two lines.^{dxxvi} The rapid shifts in mood evinced by each successive line fulfill the traditional function of the *pantun*, as a riddle presented in the opening couplet resolved in the poem's conclusion. Chairil's inaugural verse nonetheless moves beyond the tone of restraint and refinement of the traditional *pantun*, and beyond the eulogy of the dead conventionally expected of an elegiac poem. The opening line reads as a proclamation of indifference, the speaker disavowing his sorrow for the departed—a line made strange when encompassed by what follows, revealing the opening couplet to be an avowal rather than disavowal of mourning:

Nisan:

Untuk nenekanda

*Bukan kematian benar menusuk kalbu
Keridlaanmu menerima segala tiba.
Tak kutahu setingi itu atas debu
dan duka maha tuan bertakhta.*

Epitaph:

For my grandfather

It's not your death that breaks my heart
But how ready you were to welcome it.
I never knew how high above dust
and sorrow you sat enthroned.^{dxxvii}

The discordance of the second line—made ambiguous or unstable for the irreverence of the

opening line—is then resolved by the poem’s final, reverential address, which ultimately reveals the eulogy within the elegy, and plays on the speaker’s opening admission that his catalyst for mourning the dead is not *death itself*. What instead fundamentally separates the speaker from his addressee, or subordinates the living to the dead, is: freedom from sorrow.

Léopold Sédar Senghor’s inaugural poem, “*In Memoriam*,” is also an elegy— and in this case, as Ramazani has suggested may be true more generally of the elegiac form, the poem embeds within itself the fiction of its own genesis.^{dxxviii} It is “*le jour après Toussaint*,” the day of the dead—a day designated in the Catholic tradition for commemorating the deceased, visiting their graves.^{dxxix} If, however, the poem reveals its temporal context, and the space from which the speaker speaks—a space of exclusion, a solitary height— there is a solipsism to the opening lines, which remain without a directional address, without a sense of the speaker’s implied audience.

*C'est Dimanche.
J'ai peur de la foule de mes semblables au visage de pierre.
De ma tour de verre qu'habitent les migraines, les Ancêtres impatients
Je contemple toits et collines dans la brume
Dans la paix – les cheminées sont graves et nues.
À leur pieds dorment mes morts, tous mes rêves faits poussière
Tous mes rêves, le sang gratuit répandu le long des rues,
Mêlé au sang des boucheries.*

Today is Sunday.
I fear the crowd of my fellows with such faces of stone.
From my glass tower filled with headaches and impatient Ancestors,
I contemplate the roofs and hilltops in the mist.
In the stillness—somber, naked chimneys.
Below them my dead are asleep and my dreams turn to ashes.
All my dreams, blood running freely down the streets
And mixing with blood from the butcher shops.

In evident contrast to Chairil’s *Nisan*, Senghor’s *In Memoriam* seeks its form anew with each successive line, unconstrained by the expectations or known conventions of a versified rhyme scheme, giving greater precedence to its irregular, internal rhymes and parallelisms— “*visage de pierre*,” “*ma tour de verre*.”^{dxxx} It is these stresses and this internal rhyme which characterize the living as inanimate and immobile, rigid and unyielding, in contrast to the strange animation of the dead. The dead, “*les Ancêtres Impatients*,” are not dead but *sleeping*—and strangely present in the possessive form, “my dead” (“*mes morts*”), implying the listener’s

exclusion from the speaker's act of mourning.

The subsequent movement of the poem builds further on the relative animation of the dead, interchangeable with or proximate to the movements of the mind of the speaker (solitary and immobile in his "*tour de verre*"). The poem suggests a haunting equivalence between "*les migraines*" and "*les Ancêtres Impatients*," between "*mes morts*" and "*mes rêves faits Poussière*," emplacing both "*mes rêves distraits, couchés*" and his dead "*au pied des collines*"—moving between the Gambia and Saloum rivers and the Seine. The central rupture of the poem, the first line in which the speaker directly addresses his listener, and moves beyond the solipsism of the opening lines of the poem, offers the logic behind the animation of the dead with these strange tremors of the mind—with the dead as a mental presence but a monumental, physical absence: "*Laissez-moi penser à mes morts! [...] C'était hier la Toussaint, et nul souvenir à aucun cimetière.*"

*Et maintenant, de cet observatoire comme de banlieue
Je contemple mes rêves distraits le long des rues, couchés au pied des collines
Comme les Conducteurs de ma race sur les rives de la Gambie et du Saloum
De la Seine maintenant, au pied des collines.
Laissez-moi penser à mes morts !
C'était hier la Toussaint, l'anniversaire solennel du Soleil
Et nul souvenir dans aucun cimetière.*

From this observatory like the outskirts of town
I contemplate my dreams lost along the streets,
Crouched at the foot of the hills like the guides of my race
On the rivers of the Gambia and the Saloum
And now on the Seine at the foot of these hills.
Let me remember my dead!
Yesterday was All Saints' Day, the solemn anniversary of the Sun,
And I had no dead to honor in any cemetery.

The conclusion of the poem resolves its own fictional catalyst. Though initially mourning the absence of mourning ("I had no dead to honor in any cemetery"), in shifting his address to an evocation or incantation of the dead, the speaker recasts their physical absence as an *enduring presence*, making of the dead his ultimate addressee:

Ô Morts, qui avez toujours refusé de mourir, qui avez su résister à la mort

*Jusqu'en Sine jusqu'en Seine, et dans mes veines fragiles,
 Mon sang irréductible
 Protégez mes rêves comme vous avez fait vos fils, les migrants aux jambes minces.
 Ô morts ! défendez les toits de Paris dans la brume dominicale
 Les toits qui protègent mes morts.
 Que de ma tour dangereusement sûre, je descende dans la rue
 Avec mes frères aux yeux bleus
 Aux mains dures.^{dxxi}*

O Forefathers! You who have always refused to die,
 Who knew how to resist Death from the Sine to the Seine,
 And now in the fragile veins of my indomitable blood,
 Guard my dreams as you did your thin-legged migrant sons!
 O Ancestors! Defend the roofs of Paris in this dominical fog,
 The roofs that protect my dead.
 Let me leave this tower so dangerously secure
 And descend to the streets, joining my brothers
 Who have blue eyes and hard hands.^{dxxi}

By moving from an isolated distancing of the addressee (“*laissez-moi ...à mes morts*”) to an incantatory address of the dead (“*Ô morts*”) in the final movement of the poem, the speaker shifts from an act of contemplation to one of communion, shifting the exclusionary contours of mourning and commemoration towards an inclusive intervention by the dead for the living (“*defendez les toits de Paris...*”). The poem thereby concludes with another axis of exclusion (with the speaker joining “*mes frères*”—but not: “*vos fils*”) suggesting the position of the speaker within a liminal space of filiation with his two implied publics, his two addressees— “*mes morts*,” and those meant to leave him to grieve his dead.

Both poems evolve through a sequence of dramatic, internal dislocations, making peace with the absence of the dead; but where, for Anwar’s speaker, the dislocations occur within a legible form, within a known generic precedent, Senghor’s is a lyric that seeks its form as much as it seeks its audience. It begins with the sense of an absent public, an audience lost, imagined, and finally conjured into being by the end of the poem. If each poem is initially riddled by the strange *absence* of mourning, this occasions for Anwar the prospect of irreverence within a traditional form. For Senghor, in contrast, this *absence of mourning* or *exclusion from mourning* instead suggests to his listener (or to his implied publics): we do not share *our dead*.

Senghor and Chairil's subsequent poetry eventually resolves that which their inaugural poems were seeking—a breaking away from traditional forms for Chairil, the restoration of a lost public and precedent for Senghor. In these first poems, one perhaps does not fully discern those qualities for which each poet eventually became lauded, made monumental within their respective linguistic (and national) traditions. Chairil eventually came to be known for his mastery of the free verse form in Malay;^{dxixiii} Senghor for importing an indigenous, African rhythmic sensibility into his chosen language of composition (French), as a pioneer of “*négritude*” in African Francophone poetry (often proclaiming this self-consciously—though the authenticity of this importation of an African “oral poetics” into French is a matter of controversy).^{dxixiv} I would argue that, on a second order of interpretation, the divergent poetic innovations for which they eventually came to be known are functions of the languages in which they wrote (neither their native tongue)—of their linguistic proximity or distance from a maternal vernacular, poetic precedent. And *this dynamic*, of a perceived proximity to (or distance from) poetic precedent is already visible in these inaugural elegies.

On the relationship of a poet to his precedents, the Anglo-American poet T.S. Eliot is frequently cited: “No poet, no artist of any art, has his complete meaning alone. His significance, his appreciation is the appreciation of his relation to the dead poets and artists.”^{dxixv} If choosing the language of a poem is also to “choose one’s dead,” to elect the linguistic and literary ancestry by which one’s innovations will be judged, what is to be made of a poet’s significance when his relationship to precedent means mediating between competing languages, competing traditions? Between competing scripts and competing publics? Can certain poems be read as elegies for language communities, implied publics, lost to an ascendant alternative? Each of these poets has come to be upheld as pioneers of their craft; but, in the case of Chairil, the

distance crossed from his Sumatranese vernacular to Indonesia's ascendant print language (Malay) was far less than that of Senghor, abandoning his native Sereer for the ascendant print-language in which he ultimately wrote (French). The tropes of mourning, of a tension resolved between loss and restoration, commemoration and amnesia, within these early elegies might work on a second (metalingual) order for these poets writing or innovating in the context of radical linguistic change—of particular importance where the question of (comparative) poetic modernisms might be considered beyond writing within a single language.

Susan Stanford Friedman has identified the ways in which the terms “modern,” “modernism,” and “modernity,” have, depending on their context, come to designate contradictory or opposing meanings in academic literature—of particular concern given the increasing trend to interdisciplinarity in the humanities and social sciences. “[O]ppositional meanings of *modern/modernity/modernism* often coexist within certain disciplines,” she observes, with the slippage of these terms “designating both ‘rational ordering’ and ‘anarchistic disordering found in avant-garde art and poetics.’”^{dxxxvi} Friedman clarifies the confusion by distinguishing between *nominal* definitions and *relational* understandings of these terms, where nominal definitions offer “a specific, definable content (however debated)” as opposed to relational “adjectives,” “implying comparison to some other condition of being.”^{dxxxvii} As Friedman concludes, where nominal definitions are often attached to *periodization* within the social sciences and the humanities, a relational approach “looks for the latent structure rather than the manifest contents of the root term.”^{dxxxviii} The elasticity of a relational definition, Friedman suggests, better accommodates historical variance: “instead of locating modernity in the specific time of the post-Renaissance or post-Enlightenment West, a relational definition stresses the condition or sensibility of radical disruption and accelerating change wherever and

whenever such a phenomenon appears.”^{dxix}

To return to the original comparison of Anwar and Senghor, the nominal sense of the modern that comes to be deployed (to define the respective innovations of each poet) might also be seen as linguistically correlated, as a relational function of language choice. To read Senghor’s own definitions of *négritude*, it becomes clear that his sense of the “modern” (or of “modernity”) corresponds to an Enlightenment rationalism, an order and structure associated with the instrumental use of the French language to complement the “traditional” spiritualism of African poetic forms.^{dxl} It is an understanding or projection of the modern which functions within his particular sense of *négritude* as a poetics of translation into French. Chairil’s sense of the modern, in contrast, might be described as a kind of poetic anarchism, a liberal disorder and disarray, more in the sense of the modern as the avant-garde.^{dxli} This definition or understanding of the modern (of poetic modernity), however, complements his writing within the contours of a *Malay* poetic precedent—in self-conscious abandonment of its formal, poetic constraints. (It should perhaps be further mentioned that Chairil’s sense of poetic “modernity” more closely resembles that associated with the ultimate achievements of “modern” Arabic poetry in the Middle East, where free verse forms in the 1940s offered a “final break with the demands of the *qaṣidah* structure.”^{dxlii} Did French poetry play a role here? It is an understanding which, perhaps more generally, *complements* the advent of poetic innovation within a standard print-language *closer* to a poet’s vernacular, i.e., in the proximate memory of vernacular forms of versification and poetic constraint.) In each case, a nominal understanding of the “modern” or of “modernity” in poetic form may be discerned as the function of a linguistically bound, relational dynamic rather than a singular, nominal importation from (or emulation of) European poetic standards.

It would nonetheless be inaccurate to assume that these assertions of the modern in

poetry, as they come to be respectively associated with Chairil and Senghor, are entirely representative or absolute for poetic innovations in Indonesia and Senegal. If, however, they historically came to represent (within their local contexts) a dominant understanding of what “modern” national poetry signified, they at least demarcate or suggest the point of departure from which other challengers are asserted or dismissed. At this juncture, one can in part discern the telling incomparability between Chairil and Senghor, and the absolute difference between their contexts, by virtue of the alternative poetic modernities (or modernisms) which arose to challenge them, or which lost prominence with their eventual canonization. Positionally and linguistically, in this respect, the closest Indonesian counterpart to Senghor may be found in the now relatively obscure figure of the Indonesian, Dutch-language poet Noto Soeroto. Soeroto was, like Senghor in France, the product of a colonial politics of “Association,” expatriated to the Netherlands as a university student, where he wrote poetry in Dutch, founded the journal *Oedaya* in 1923, and developed a social poetics (and politics) of cultural synthesis, more in keeping with that of Senghor.^{dxliii} If, however, Senghor gained recognition and representative prominence in Paris and in French West Africa (culminating with the 1948 publication of the *Anthologie de la nouvelle poésie nègre et malgache de langue française*, prefaced by Sartre’s “Black Orpheus”), Soeroto was consigned to obscurity in Indonesia (then the Dutch East Indies)—considered insufficiently nationalistic, struggling to find a local readership for his Dutch poems in Indonesia, marginalized by a cultural nationalism that increasingly identified with the need for vernacular, literary expression in Malay in the 1930s.^{dxliv} These growing criticisms launched against Soeroto and his use of a colonial language—allegations of his *insufficient* nationalism, of an excessive complicity with a colonial power as signified by his choice of poetic language—mirror those launched against Senghor after the failure of French West African Federalism in

Senegal.^{dxlv}

To complement this comparative discussion on Noto Soeroto and Senghor: Senghor's racialized poetics of recognition—asserting that racial discrimination could be transcended through a language shared between colonizer and colonized—also had its parallel (and counterfactual) in the Dutch East Indies. One of the founders of the pre-war, Indies based journal of poetry and cultural nationalism *Poedjangga Baroe*, Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana, contended in the late 1920s that the denial of the Dutch language to native *inlanders* had racial motivations, perpetuating forms of discrimination that could be transcended through the spread of Dutch. As he wrote in 1932: “The spread of Dutch among Indonesians would reduce the disparity between the Dutch and the native people.”^{dxlvi} Of relevance, however, to the impossibility of a parallel to Senghor's *négritude* and *francophonie* in the Dutch East Indies, Siegel notes the paradoxical trend that recognition among the Dutch tended to be awarded to native *inlanders* if address was made in *Malay* (as the regional *lingua franca*), rather than in the *Dutch* language—a dynamic contributing to “the origins of what was to become ‘Indonesian’ nationalism at the turn of the nineteenth century.”^{dxlvii} (Siegel takes as a primary example of this dynamic an inflammatory article entitled ‘*Als ik eens Nederlander was*’ [“If I were a Dutchman”], ironizing the celebration in the Indies of Dutch independence from Spain.^{dxlviii} The article, written by Soewardi Soerjaningrat, was initially published in Dutch (in 1913) before republication in Malay [“*Djika Saya Nederlander*”]—only gaining attention when translated out of Dutch and into Malay.)^{dxlix}

To return to the general comparison between Senghor and Chairil, in each case their sense of the *modern* in poetry can be seen to respond to an evidentiary need articulated in the nascent poetic criticism of the 1920s and 1930s, *proof* of (what Chatterjee has termed) the “modern, but not western,” of “bicephalisme” (in the writing of Senghor), or the creation of

“Faust-Arjuna,” as articulated the founders of the Indonesian poetry journal *Poedjangga Baroe*, Sanusi Pane.^{dl} For the case of each poet, the “non-western” component bore different contours. But in response to Chairil’s example of Indonesian poetic modernity (allegedly evident in his more avant-garde, free verse form), several key poets in the 1950s contended that his *writing in the Indonesian language was insufficient proof of the “non-western” quality of his verse—insufficient proof of the independence of the Indonesian “modern” from “the west.”* It was not enough to write in Malay, one had to *import* into this newly nationalized language the *formal* traces of vernacular poetry, with the versification of the Javanese *tembang* or the sustainment of Malay *pantun* forms.^{dli} The local *response* to the national trend towards canonizing Chairil’s poetry, in other words, involved the promotion of a poetics of translation, directionally borne towards an ascendant-print language (Indonesian-Malay) from “sub-national” vernacular languages.^{dlii} One should remark that this prescription for a poetics of translation—of translating vernacular poetic forms into an ascendant print-language—is in its relational dynamic *not unlike* that of Senghor’s defense of how negritude relationally functions: to *import* poetic forms from “*losing*” [vernaculars] to an *ascendant print-language*. There is, in other words, a chiasmic similarity across these poetic claims of “modern, not-western,” evident in the counter-claims to poetic modernism that succeeded the local canonization of Chairil and Senghor (in the 1940s and thereafter).

Mention should also perhaps be made of the intersection between the calculus of language choice, assertions of literary “modernity,” and the pressures to abandon *vernacular verse* as a “traditional” genre in the 1920s and the 1930s. In this respect, Quinn’s observation that the perceived *decline* of writing in Javanese corresponded to the colonial era redefinition of *Javanese verse* as “traditional” is instructive. Where Javanese authors were instead encouraged

to experiment with the form of the *novel* by Dutch scholars affiliated with *Balai Pustaka*, “the perceived decline of Javanese literature” corresponded to “the decline of [Javanese] poetic expression.”^{dliv} Although there appears to have been a difference in the political treatment of Arabic and Javanese script during the turn of the twentieth century, the implications for this increasing pressure to define *poetry* as a “traditional” literary form (at a time when *novelistic prose* was promoted as progressive and “modern”) has yet to be explored for Arabic verse and Arabic script poetry in Indonesia.

If Hamka’s work, however, offers any indication, it should be mentioned that he wrote verse in Arabic, but that only two lines of his Arabic language poetry survives in public collections (in the Indonesian capital of Jakarta). These two rare lines of verse, composed from before the Second World War, were remembered decades after their original composition by Hamka, who in the 1930s composed didactic, Arabic language poetry to teach his students at the *Kulliyatul Muballighin* (a grade school established by the reformist, Islamic *Muhammadiyah* movement in West Sumatra). As later remembered by one of his students, and published in a compilation of essays during Hamka’s lifetime, one such example reads:^{dliv}

إذا ما الناسُ يحمّدُك بقول- فلا تفرّح و لا تضحك سروراً
لأنّ الحمد للناس كسمّ - يموت به أخو الكبر و غروراً

When others praise you in speech do not rejoice, nor laugh with pleasure
For praise is to men like poison they die by it, of conceit and pride^{dlv}

In comparison to this lost, Arabic language poetry, the poems that Hamka wrote in romanized Malay still remain in the nation’s public holdings (14 poems published between 1936-8 in the pages of the Medan-based journal *Pedoman Masyarakat*).^{dlvi} One can discern, however, the steady decline of Hamka’s poetic output (from 1936 to 1939) in favor of prose-fiction—prose fiction later re-published through the Dutch colonial publishing house *Balai Pustaka*. To all

appearance, then, Hamka's linguistic and generic choices shifted not only from Arabic (language and script) to Latin-script forms, but also from poetry to prose. If Quinn's observation—that the fate of Javanese language literature was intertwined with “the perceived decline [...] of poetic expression”^{dlvi} and with *Balai Pustaka*'s promotion of prose literature—holds true more generally for other script traditions (like Arabic and Jawi), Hamka's choice of genre, language, and script might be seen to fall into broader trends catalyzed in the earliest decades of the twentieth century, and influenced in part by the workings of the colonial press. (Although this has yet to be accounted for in academic literature, it appears that the writing of Arabic poetry was sustained in Indonesia throughout the twentieth century, particularly in Indonesia's outlying islands. Much of this literary output, however, as has been the case in Senegal, is devotional poetry held in private, family collections, not generally available among the public holdings of the national capital.)^{dlviii}

To return again to Susan Stanford-Friedman on the relational dynamics of modernity, it is evident that, “for all its insistence on the new, a relational modernity is inevitably part of a generational dynamic”:^{dlx}

Relationally speaking, modernity is the insistence upon the Now—the present and its future as resistance to the past, especially the immediate past. It establishes a cult of the new that constructs retrospectively a sense of tradition from which it declares independence. Paradoxically, such a tradition—or, the awareness of it as ‘tradition’—might come into existence only at the moment of rebellion against it.^{dlx}

The invention of literary *tradition* as a linguistically (and scripturally) bound construct offers another way of reading the politics and social poetics of linguistic exclusion on an allegedly “temporal” plane, just as the consignment of a language to “sub-national” status or to the status of a subordinate trans-nationalism projects this relational dynamic on a spatial plane.^{dlxi} The trend to associate or consign to “tradition” or “sub-national” status particular languages, vernaculars, and scripts might initially be seen as a trend towards consigning them to a kind of language *death*, against the ascent of a nationalized, unifying alternative. (As such the

prescribed translation of an oral, African poetics into French and the translation of the Javanese *tembang* into nationalized Malay are not merely claims and counter-claims about the possibilities of translation; they are legible as prescriptions for (or against) a collective *amnesia* in the building of a national, literary canon.) The projection of the pastness of a language, however, also depends on the normative interpretation of “tradition” as either irrelevant (to the modern) or as an authoritative (and recurrently relevant) trans-historical form of symbolic authority. Friedman’s insight into the “presence of the past” in the invention of modernity is, in this respect, instructive:

[T]he relational consciousness of modernity is based in historical illusionism—[...] refus[ing] to acknowledge the presence of the past in the present and future. The more modernity protests its absolute newness, the more it suppresses its rootedness in history. And the more that history is repressed, the more it returns in symbolic forms to haunt and disrupt the illusionary and ideological mythology of the new.^{dlxii}

As suggested by the preceding discussion on competing claims to poetic modernity and its linguistic contours, it appears that this dynamic—through which “the illusionary and ideological mythology of the new” is disrupted and haunted by the “symbolic forms” of a “history repressed”—constitutes that anterior “dialogicity” of a poem for the bilingual poets here examined, and troubles the performance of a poem’s “submission to an authoritative language.”^{dlxiii} This dialogicity might be further complicated by two opposing movements that subtend aspirations to poetry’s national relevance and progressive quality in the wake of language politics in the colonial era: towards the restoration of a displaced past (in seeking the “*non-western*” in literature), which nonetheless asserts, in its teleological presumption, the *regressive* nature of its precedents.

The contemporaneity of linguistically diverse literary experiments within Senegal and Indonesia across the twentieth century, a period of radical linguistic change and script-rupture, suggests the extent to which these axes are at work—and in ways pertaining to the earlier

parameters suggested by Bakhtin in the poet's *choice of language*: suggesting that verse forms tend to monoglossia and the sacralization of language, and that prose forms tend to heteroglossia and to contesting the *sacralization of language*. If one considers, for example, how Sembene's heteroglossic novel, *The Last of the Empire* [*Le dernier de l'Empire*], *demythifies* the *francophonie* consecrated in Senghor's verse, or how Pramoedya's Malay novel *Arok Dedes* attempts to demythify the sacralization of language in the Javanese-Indic Epic, it might appear that Bakhtin's take on the heteroglossia of the novel as *progress beyond the sacralization of language* falls on fertile soil with oppositional, leftist prose-works within Senegal and Indonesia—in two vastly different linguistic contexts, but in the common presence of locally sustained religious acrolects. Whether or not Hamka's experiment with the Malay prose adaptation of an Arabian Epic (*Laila Majnoen*) succeeded in upholding a continued reverence for sacralized language within a nationalized vernacular—translating the epic from a sacred language into vernacular prose in a generic performance of literary modernity—it is clear that the Murid Bamba (among other Sufi poets in Senegal, and like the founders of religious orders in Lombok and Sulawesi) continued to consecrate a bureaucratically marginalized language and script through their devotional poetry in Arabic.

On myth taken for history:

Poetic unisonance and the invention of Chairil's "plausible contexts"

To shift in focus from the social poetics of "monoglossia" to that of imagined "unisonance" in the reception of poetry, the remainder of this chapter will move to another order of analysis, focusing more exclusively on the local reception and national mythicization of Chairil's poetry as an instantiation of the "modern" and the "national." The following analysis continues to draw from this chapter's unifying motif—the tension between collective memory

and collective amnesia—to consider how the nationalization of poetry (or poets) corresponds to the strange temporality of recurrent commemoration and national-mythmaking: of reading a poetic, “fictive utterance,” as a historical one.^{dlxiv} Though focusing primarily on the social poetics of literary nationalization in Indonesia, these observations pertain more broadly to the tension between linguistic nationalism (or nationalized *monoglossia*) and the politics of poetic reception in regional (or transnational) languages. If this process was treated through earlier chapters on Senghor and Bamba in West Africa, the present chapter offers another case for examining the politics of poetic expression in a regional language, given that Chairil was, in effect, writing in nationalized (Indonesian) Malay.^{dlxv}

To clarify the issue of reading poetry as an artifact (or medium) of national history, I allude to Barbara Herrnstein-Smith’s distinction between a “natural utterance,” “the verbal response of a historically real person,” and “fictive utterances” that are “mimetic as a representation of discourse/speech.”^{dlxvi} Poetry, by her estimation, exemplifies this mimetic “fictive discourse,” as a purely “linguistic structure” rather than “a linguistic *event* occurring in a historical context”:

A poem is never spoken, not even by the poet himself. It is always re-cited; for whatever its relation to words the poet *could* have spoken, it has, as a poem, no initial historical occurrence. What the poet composes as a text is not a verbal act but rather a linguistic structure that becomes, through being read or recited, the representation of a verbal act.^{dlxvii}

Since a poem as a fictive utterance is “historically indeterminate,” “neither discovered nor verified in nature or history,” interpreting a poem means the creation of a plausible context.^{dlxviii} This would suggest then that projecting or emplacing a fictive “historically indeterminate” utterance onto the plane of national history (through the collective invention of a plausible context) by necessity involves a form of myth-making.

What follows are three elegiac acts—interpretations of Anwar’s broader work—that

participate in the mythification of national history through the interpretive act of reading Anwar's poems, by imagining or inventing the plausible contexts for his work. As these examples suggest, part of nationalizing poetry has involved making of the poem an event: contextually historicizing a poet (or his poetry) through collective memorialization. The first document examined is a commemorative, New Order biography, issued by the Ministry of Education and Culture, which instates Chairil as a "Tokoh Nasional" (or "National Figure") and historicizes his poetry within the developmentalist ideology of the New Order.^{dlxix} The second focuses on Hamka's sermonic interpretation of Chairil's poetry and on a series of elegiac poems inspired by and dedicated to Chairil on the 49th anniversary of his death, written by university students at the *Muhammadiyah* teacher's training college in Purworejo, Central Java. The chapter concludes with an examination of Sjuman Djaya's screenplay, *Aku*, for an unmade biopic on Chairil Anwar, a historical film set during the Japanese interregnum and the Indonesian Revolution.^{dlxx}

Chairil as a New Order "National Figure" ["Tokoh Nasional"]

The commemorative biographical pamphlet instating Chairil Anwar as a "National Figure" ["Tokoh Nasional"] frames the significance of the poet's legacy within the developmentalist ideology of the New Order.^{dlxxi} As stated in the introduction:

Dasar pemikiran penulisan biografi Tokoh Nasional ini ialah, bahwa arah pembangunan nasional dilaksanakan di dalam rangka pembangunan manusia Indonesia seutuhnya dan pembangunan masyarakat Indonesia seluruhnya. Pembangunan nasional, tidak hanya mengejar kemajuan lahiriah, melainkan juga mengejar kepuasan batiniah, dengan membina keselarasan dan keseimbangan antara keduanya.^{dlxxii}

The direction of national development forms the basis for writing this biography of a national figure, through the framework of the development of the people of Indonesia in their entirety and the development of Indonesian society in its entirety. National development does not merely mean the pursuit of external progress [*lahiriah*, from the Arabic *zāhir*], but rather includes the pursuit of internal satisfaction [*batiniah*, from the Arabic *bāṭin*], with the building of harmony and balance between the two.^{dlxxiii}

The purpose of the biography, it is further revealed, is to allow a national audience to "depict [or:

imagine] Chairil Anwar as a National Figure who fought in his field for the importance of State and Nation [*Negara dan Bangsa*].”^{dlxxiv} His poetry thereby becomes proof of his stature as “one who loves his country and nation” [*seorang yang cinta tanah air dan bangsanya*”].^{dlxxv} Beyond conflating the historical context of his poems with the advent of a foundational, historical moment, the pamphlet emphasizes Chairil’s work as proof of his *patriotism*, while prescribing patriotic forms of interpreting his poetry. The act of interpretation here is a question of emphasis,^{dlxxvi} where patriotism and poetic modernity function as evidence of national, “spiritual” progress,^{dlxxvii} and where the acknowledgment of these virtues in a poetry upheld as nationalist is (equally) proof of patriotism in the politics of collective interpretation. The emphasis within the biography functions against those offering a more nuanced (less polyannic) portrait of the poet, those who “*selalu memberikan sorotan yang negative terhadap kehidupan dan keplagiatan Chairil*” [constantly give a negative focus to the Chairil’s life and plagiarism”].^{dlxxviii} It instead normatively contrasts the collective, national reading of the poet from a reading of his legacy as an individual talent, implicitly delimiting what is considered appropriate, licit, and patriotic in the act of poetic interpretation: “*Memang banyak orang yang mengenal Chairil dari keakuannya, individualismenya dan kebinatang jalangannya saja, tetapi lupa kepada sajak-sajaknya yang tegas mengandung nafas revolusi bangsanya*”^{dlxxix} [“Indeed many know Chairil only from his “*ke-akuan*” [solipsism] and “*kebinatang jalangannya*” [recalcitrance], but forget that his poems carry the breath of his nation’s revolution.”^{dlxxx}]

Among the poems given pride of place as representative examples of Chairil’s poetry (“Diponegoro,” “Siap Sedia,” “Krawang-Bekasi,” “Persetujuan dengan Bung Karno,” “Cerita buat Dien Tamaela,” and “Aku”) are those that reconceptualize death as a form of continuity. In a manner that mirrors patterns in Senghor’s early poetry from the Second World War, these

poems mimic religious forms of sacralized speech, reconceptualizing death as a form of continuity: mimicking the prayer, the oath, reconfiguring death as a dedicative form of sacrifice. Anwar's poem "Diponegoro" reads like a prayerful dedication to the historic leader of the early nineteenth century Java wars against the Dutch. Like many of Senghor's poems whose "plausible context" is placed on the battlefield, the sense of temporality integral to the poem reconstitutes historical progress as a form of restoration, with the future reconceived as a movement towards the past. Equally like Senghor's poems, a thematic of sacrifice and rebirth (led by the spirit of the departed) is invoked to re-conceive of death as a *dedication* and as a reincarnation, guided by the spirit of a historical past made epic or emblematic. A second poem, "Siap Sedia," contrasts the immobility of the individual dead on the battle field to a collective continuity in constant motion. But the shock of the poem lies not only in its building through successive, parallel descriptions of an individual corpse *in rigor mortis*; there is a certain *schadenfreude* (or sadism) in the speaker's indifference to the impending, physical corruptions that accompany the prophesied *death of his audience*: "*Tanganmu nanti tegang kaku,/jantungmu nanti berdebar berhenti, Tubuhmu nanti mengeras batu, Tapi kami sederap mengganti,/Terus memahat ini Tugu.*"^{dlxxxix} In a movement that evokes that of Chairil's first poem "Epitaph" ["*Nisan*"], what read initially like a *curse*, a declaration of indifference to the dead—to "your" stiffened hands, glass eyes, still blood, and rigid flesh—gives way to an imagined, eternal continuity: "*Darah kami panas selama,/Badan kami tertempa baja,/Jiwa kami gagah perkasa*" ["Our blood is forever warm,/ Our bodies are forged of steel/Our spirit is strong, brave..."].^{dlxxxii} Breaking away from the isolated apparent indifference of the opening stanza, the poem ends with a suspicion of the sublime—of the *beauty* of destruction, moving through the triumphant spectacle of natural decay to the final image of a shaken natural world, delivered into an

omnivorous fire. (It is perhaps in this spirit of a radical stoicism that approaches *masochism* (or here: *sadism*) that Chairil's poem "*Aku (semangat)*" might be read—beginning with the dramatic dismissal of mourning, in the fierceness of a constant advance.)

Among the poems additionally highlighted in the biography is Chairil's "*Persetujuan dengan Bung Karno*" ["Agreement with Brother Karno"], a poem which in form centers on a dramatic evolution characteristic of Chairil's poetry: a dramatic irreverence that evolves into a more reverential form of address. The speaker begins with an impudent holler to the president of Indonesia's fledgling republic, transforming what seems like a truce ("give me your hand") and a dismissal ("I've heard enough of your speeches"), into something more closely resembling a devotional *oath* of loyalty:

*Ayo! Bung Karno kasi tangan mari kita bikin janji
Aku sudah cukup lama dengan bicaramu, dipanggang atas apimu,
Digarami oleh lautmu*

*Dari mula tgl. 17 Agustus 1945
Aku melangkah kedepan berada rapat disisimu
Aku sekarang api aku sekarang laut*

Hey! [...] Sukarno, give me your hand, let's make a deal
I've heard enough of your speeches, been roasted by your passion,
Been salted by the sea-flood of you

From 17 August 1945, the day this country set itself free,
I've marched along up front, right next to you
Now I'm [fire], now I'm [sea].^{dlxxxiii}

Chairil's irreverent pairing of metaphors make a triviality of Sukarno's passion and charisma (fire and seas), leaving the speaker among Sukarno's listening masses "roasted and salted"; but this initial irreverence gives way to a declaration of unity between the speaker and his addressee, which assumes another dimension in the poem's final stanza. Chairil's poem concludes with the play on a trope prevalent in Malay Sufi poetry in the depiction of the unity of the self with the divine; the motif of the *seas* used to imply the dissipation of the self in the presence of the divine

is suggested by Chairil's use of the motif with the term *zat* (a Malay word taken from the Arabic *thāt*, meaning *essence* or *self*):

*Bung Karno! Kau dan aku satu zat satu urat
Dizatmu dizatku kapal-kapal kita berlayar
Diuratmu diuratku kapal-kapal kita berlayar
Diuratmu diuratku kapal-kapal kita bertolak & berlabuh*

Brother Karno! You and I are one essence [*zat*] one flesh [*urat*]
in your self in my self [*Dizatmu dizatku*] our ships set sail
In your flesh in my flesh [*Diuratmu diuratku*] our ships set sail
In your flesh in my flesh our ships leave and anchor^{dlxxxiv}

The extended metaphor of the waters that unify the speaker with his addressee plays on a dynamic that opposes the *zat* from the *urat*, the innermost self or essential self from the flesh of the body. It is a metaphor that, in its use of the *seas* to characterize the nature of the *zat*, or the essence of the self, descends from theological explanations of metaphysical unity in the Sufi concept of *wahdat al-wujud*.^{dlxxxv} As employed by the sixteenth century Malay Sufi poet Hamzah Fansuri in his work *al-Muntahi*, a work which explains the unity of existence and the essence of the divine as both immanence and transcendence:

Laut Zat Ilahi yang tiada bertepi dalam aspek transenden-Nya (tanzih) tidak bersatu, atau tidak esa, dengan manifestasi-manifestasinya yang seumpama ombak-ombak di permukaan laut, tetapi dalam aspek imanen-Nya (tasybih) Zat Ilahi tidak terpisah, atau tidak bercerai, dari manifestasi-manifestasi-Nya, seperti laut yang tidak dapat berpisah dari ombak-ombaknya.^{dlxxxvi}

The borderless ocean of God's essence [*zat*] is, in its transcendent aspect (*tanzih*), not reducible to its manifestations, which are like waves upon the ocean's surface, but in its immanent aspect (*tashbih*) the essence of God is inseparable from its manifestations, like an ocean that cannot be separated from its waves.^{dlxxxvii}

As reinscribed in Chairil's poem, the metaphor of the seas as a transcendent unity coincides with the gradual dissipation of the self, tempering the hierarchies implied by the poem's opening lines. Through this rewritten metaphor, the mimetic speech of the poem sanctifies the declaration of independence, "*Dari mula tgl. 17 Agustus 1945,*" converting this performative oath into a metaphysical truth.

Of further note in Chairil's official biography is the choice to highlight by name the reverential poem "Doa" ["Prayer"] over alternatives that would otherwise suggest the more multifaceted quality of Chairil's verse.^{dlxxxviii} Dedicated "*Kepada Pemeluk Teguh*" ["To a devout believer"], this sparse poem evolves through a confessional mode and opens with an invocation—"Tuhanku" ["My God"]— which proffers the dominant internal rhyme for the remainder of the poem. The confessional mode of the poem reveals the drama of its own genesis, as the poem proves a rumination on the *function* of invoking the divine. The concluding rhymes that vary from the dominant scheme supplied by the invocation of God –"*Tuhanku*"— underscore the resolution of the poem as a return borne from resistance:

*cayaMu panas suci
tinggal kerdip lilin dikelam sunyi [...]
aku mengembara di negeri asing [...]
Aku tida bisa berpaling.*

Your warm pure light
Remains a flickering candle in the lonely darkness [...]
I wander in strange lands [...]
I cannot turn away^{dlxxxix}

Though more open to interpretation as a meditation on the allure of faith, Hamka reinterprets the final lines of the poem—"At your door I knock, I can no longer stay away"— in a public sermon in 1962, to a radically different end. Re-deploying the sense of inevitability and fatality expressed in these lines as a *memento mori*, he reinterprets the verse as a deathbed prayer, or a prayer spoken by a departed soul:

*Hanja satu pintu terbuka, jang lain tertutup belaka;
"Tuhanku
Dipintumu aku mengetuk
Aku tidak bisa berpaling lagi..." (Chairil Anwar dalam sadjak DOA).
Sebagaimana manusia jang bosan menghadapi kesulitan hidup dan bebannja jang berat
tidak mungkin dikembalikan kedalam perut ibunya maka orang jang telah kehabisan
'minjak kehidupan' tidak pulalah dapat mengundurkan hari keberangkatannya jang telah
tertentu itu.^{dxc}*

Only one door is open, the rest are entirely closed;
"My Lord
At your door I knock

I can no longer stay away..." (Chairil Anwar in his poem PRAYER)
Just as one who has tired of facing the difficulties of life and its burdens cannot be returned to his mother's womb, so those who have exhausted the "fuel of life" can no longer postpone their day of parting.^{dxci}

Here, the poem, which can be read as the drama of a speaker's return from errance, becomes reinterpreted as a means through which the inevitability of death and divine judgment are dramatized. The metaphor is taken literally, with the door upon which the poet knocks as that of *death* itself. In imagining this "plausible context" for the departed, Hamka's sermon cites the final lines of Anwar's verse in order to resurrect the theological concept of the "*barzakh*," which presents the fundamental obstacle of the soul of the departed from returning to life, the inevitability of divine judgment: "In verse 100 of Sūra xxiii the godless beg to be allowed to return to earth to accomplish the good they have left undone during their lives; but there is a *barzakh* in front of them barring the way."^{dxcii} In this, Hamka's sermon re-cites the poem as though in the voice of the soul of the departed, of a figure *bereft* of choice as one subject, by Hamka's assertion, to a metaphysical truth perhaps once doubted in life:

Perjalanan hidup sudah terbentang demikian adanja; Perut ibu, lahir kedunia, berjuang menegakkan amal dan berjuang terus menudju hidup jang kedua kali, dengan melalui pintu gerbang ketjil, hanya sedjenak, bernama maut [...]
Diantara gerbang jang bernama maut itu dengan alam achirat adalah suata masa "peralihan" jg. bernama 'barzach.' Masa barzach adalah masa menunggu panggilan [...].^{dxciiii}

The path of life has thus extended itself; [from] the mother's womb, birth into the world, the struggle for maintaining hope and the constant struggle towards a second life, through the small door named death [...]
Between that gateway named death and the realm of the afterlife is a period of change, called the "*barzakh*." The *Barzakh* is a phase in which one awaits one's summons [...].^{dxciiv}

In this, Hamka's elegiac gesture to a Malay language poet who had *become* a nationalized literary figure obliquely decouples the sense of the literary "modern" with the "secular," re-embedding his reading in the public call to faith and the religious life, dramatizing the poem through the finality of divine judgment. This assertion of the non-secular, literary "modern" might be further discerned in a series of emulative elegies written by members of Hamka's

Muhammadiyah movement in commemoration of Anwar's death. In these poems, the dynamic of a "modern" verse formally inspired by Chairil's poetry, but with the dedicatory register of devotional religious poetry, is generally evident: with staccatic, free verse forms dominated by an internal rhyme scheme, rhythmically or thematically inspired by motifs easily identifiable within Chairil's *oeuvre*. But it is a collection of poems written on an elegiac register mourning not only the loss of the poet as a national figure, but the possibility of his faithlessness.^{dxcv}

If the New Order's biography subordinates Chairil's poetry to the foundational history of the national revolution, refuting (as unpatriotic or insufficiently patriotic) an emphasis on Chairil's "*keakuan*" (solipsism or individualism), Sjuman's screenplay *Aku* might be seen to focus more exclusively on this ("*keakuan*") as the poet's defining characteristic and the central *tenet* of his work. Sjuman's *Aku* offers an interpretation of Chairil that allows him to lose his (nationally imagined) moral valence, featuring his irreverence of politics and politicians, his petty thievery, his sloth, adultery, and plagiarism. Lavish in a time of war, insouciant (if not indifferent) on the warfront trenches, Chairil appears an ambivalent, even begrudging nationalist—audaciously taking credit where little is due, impulsively imposing himself on the company of politicians but resentful of their advice.^{dx cvi} Writing against the notion of Chairil's exemplarity as a revolutionary, the screenplay incorporates a realist portrait of the poet by reading his "*keakuan*" in the spirit of national independence. Two of the original poems by Chairil which Sjuman heavily features within the screenplay are "Aku" and "Cerita Buat Dien Tamaela" ["I" and "Story for Dien Tamaela"], both of which resonate (in diegetic performance or as non-diegetic voice-overs) throughout the screenplay in scenes that re-create the fiction of their genesis. With the recurrence of "Aku," the drama of the poem's creation is legible as *both* encapsulating the zeitgeist of the Indonesian Revolution in the wake of the Japanese occupation,

but also as an example of the poet's recalcitrance to political cooptation, a sign of the irreducibility of his poetry to politics. As Sjunan opens his screenplay with a montage of images from the Pacific war theater—the bombing of Hiroshima, the invasion of the Indies by Japanese troops—the context of the Japanese interregnum of Indonesia offers the inescapable logic to Sjunan's reading of Chairil's poetry.^{dxcvii} But it is precisely this context, of the brutality of an occupying power during the Second World War and of its efforts to form poetry to the needs of propaganda, which offers the logic of reading Chairil's poems (and persona) as a bivalent expression: coinciding with the spirit of revolution, but defying the imperatives and strictures of politics.

Following the opening montage of destruction wrought by the Japanese invasion is a scene introducing a visual metaphor for the poet himself, of an injured stallion escaping the carnage of the bombed capital, escaping to the non-diegetic voice-over of the opening lines of Chairil's most renowned poem ("Aku"):

*kalau sampai waktuku
kutahu tak seorang kan merayu
tidak juga kau
tak perlu sedu sedan itu
aku ini binatang jalang
dari kumpulannya terbang^{dxcviii}*

When my time comes
No one's going to cry for me,
And you won't, either
The hell with all those tears!
I'm a wild beast
Driven out of the herd^{dxciix}

Vesting the opening lines of the poem with an associative image that conflates freedom with self-sabotage, Sjunan in poetic shorthand describes the visual sequence to accompany Chairil's verse:

*Akhirnya juga membelah
peron stasiun yang
berpagar kawat duri.*

*Tapi sang kuda binal
melompat tidak peduli.
Sepotong ujung kawat duri
menggores perut
menggores juga paha.^{dc}*

Finally [the horse] traverses
the platform of a train
gated in barbed wire.

But the wild horse
leaps without caring.
A cut of the wire
slices his stomach
and slices his thigh.^{dci}

In an awesome scene in which the escaping stallion leaps upon the rooftops of an urban dystopia, the figure of the poet emerges from the desolation, but only to hear the strange echo of the stallion's voice in the stallion's absence, in a succession of shots that reads these diegetic images through Chairil's non-diegetic, accompanying verse:

*biar peluru menembus kultiku
aku akan meradang menerjang
luka dan bisa kubawa berlari
berlari
Hingga hilang pedih peri
[...] Lelaki itu terkejut seketika,
Menemukan langit kosong
Di ujung-ujung atap gubuk yang menyesak.
Langit yang kerut-merut tanpa Cahaya.
Sedang di kejauhan,
Masih tinggal tersisa
Sepotong ringkikan sang kuda:
[...] dan aku akan lebih tidak peduli
Aku mau hidup seribu tahun lagi!^{dcu}*

Bullets may pierce my skin [Chairil's verse]
But I'll keep coming, [attacking]
Carrying forward my wounds and my pain
[Running]
[Running]
Until suffering disappears

*The boy is shocked [Sjuman's description]
To find an empty sky
Beyond the roofs and peaks of asphyxiated hovels
A sky restless and furrowed, without Light
While in the distance
There still remains
The sound of the horse's voice.^{dcm}*

And I won't give a damn [Chairil's verse]

I want to live another thousand years.^{dciv}

If this metaphorical coupling of verse and image cedes to the title shot for the screenplay, its disjuncture between the *absence* of the beast at the center of the poem and the *resonance* of his voice is a trope that structures the film's concluding scene. The screenplay ends with a final montage sequence of (what Anderson might call) national *unisonance*, to suggest that Chairil's nationalization lies not in his moral exemplarity, nor in the collective de-emphasis of his "*ke-akuan*," but in the resonance (or unisonance) of *his poetry* in his absence:

Sebuah edited scenes berbentuk kaleidoskopi tentang berbagai mulut anak-anak sekolah, pemuda, tentara, seniman, bahkan kaum politisi, sedang membacakan petikan berbagai sajak Chairil yang paling hidup. [...] Paling akhir, kembali sajak "Aku Mau Hidup Seribu Tahun Lagi."^{dcv}

A number of edited scenes in kaleidoscopic form appear, focusing on the mouths of school children, youth [pemuda], members of the army, artists, even politicians, reading aloud excerpts of Chairil's most animated poems [*yg paling hidup*]. The final one returns to the line "I want to live another thousand years."^{dcvi}

As the screenplay ends again with this final line, *Aku mau hidup seribu tahun lagi*, its visual projection of the diffracted continuity of Chairil's poetry (after the poet's death), makes of the screenplay an elegy to the poet as a national figure—but without contravening the work of the rest of the screenplay, in humanizing or demythifying the poet as a national "hero."

The dramatization of the poem through the remainder of the screenplay makes it impossible to read it exclusively within the collective lens of national resistance—to read it exclusively as an example of a politically committed poetry, given the poet's own insouciance. For the poet makes of these lines a mockery, a verbal play, subsequent to the film's dramatic opening sequence, when asked by a prostitute he frequents his name, given as "*Aku bin Atang*" or "I, son of Atang";^{dcvii} and yet, as the poet genuinely asks this "*perempuan jelata*" ("woman of the masses" or "common woman") her opinion of his verse, he appears (again) a populist figure (in contrast with his irreverence for the professional, literary critics of *Balai Pustaka*, and to his lesser predecessors among the poets of *Pudjangga Baru*).^{dcviii} In a subsequent citation of the

poem, Sjuman incorporates its lines within the dialogue of a torture scene to which Chairil is subject, rendering the verse legible as an expression of recalcitrance, resistance, and stoicism in the face of an occupying power. If Chairil, however, is here presented as a figure of resistance, the mythification of this moment—what might otherwise offer the mirage of his collective virtue as a national hero—is undone by the revelation that the alleged crime for which he is tortured is both an act of defiance and of solipsism: for seducing the maid of a Japanese officer, stealing the sheets off of his bed and the paint from his home, to supply a fellow artist, Sudjojono, the means for painting his own portrait.^{dcix}

Sjuman's reading of Chairil's poem "*Cerita Buat Dien Tamaela*" also recurrently features throughout the screenplay, as a second take on the poet's *ke-akuan* (individualism). The imagined genesis of the poem is embedded in a scene that jointly incorporates references from "Dien Tamaela" and "Aku" in the dialogue. Upon Chairil's release from prison, fragments of both poems emerge within a retort made by the poet, countering the Japanese assertion of forced reverence for the deified, Japanese Emperor during the Japanese occupation of Indonesia. Sjuman references the poem in a dialogue that conjoins a line from Chairil's "Aku" with the spirit of "Dien Tamaela"—revealed through his mention of the word "*Datu-Datu*" [chiefs or headmen], a term central to the latter poem. In response to hearing that the Japanese officer responsible for his incarceration admires his poetry, Chairil challenges the sanctification of Japan's occupying Imperial forces, of an Empire claiming descent from the Shinto Goddess Amaterasu:

Bilang juga pada jahanam itu, jangan pikir cuma dialah keturunan Dewa Amaterashu [the shinto sun-goddess, Amaterasu, from which the Japanese emperor historically claimed descent], karena itu jadi cuma dia yang jagoan! Aku juga keturunan Datu-Datu dari langit, yang ketika lahir dibawakan pedang! Aku tidak akan mati! Aku sudah bilang, aku mau hidup seribu tahun lagi!^{dcx}

Tell that devil not to think he's the only one descended from the Goddess Amaterasu, that he's the only gamecock! I'm also descended from the Chiefs [*Datu-Datu*] of the sky, and

they brought me a sword when they bore me! I'll never die! I already said, I'm living
another thousand years!^{dexi}

This scene in Sjuman's screenplay, in imagining the "plausible context" of the poem's beginnings, projects the verse itself as a form of posturing, a presumption that appears to be both an expression of solipsism (or *ke-akuan*) and of resistance to an occupying power: a form of self-deification to challenge the sanctification of the Japanese Empire (in a dialogue that cites both Chairil's poem "Aku" and "Cerita Buat Dien Tamaela").

Drawing from a folktale from Eastern Indonesia (Maluku),^{dexii} the fictional genesis of the poem subsequently evolves through a nightmarish dream sequence re-embedded later in the screenplay: "*Dalam tidurnya, Chairil seolah melihat sesuatu yang dahsyat dan sangat magis.*"^{dexiii} The dream is set on a small island in Maluku, on a black night amidst roaring white waves and flames rising upon the sand, within a ritual procession led by a fearless [*"gagah perkasa"*] tribal chief, dancing with a sword in his hand, setting the island afire. It is a vision of mass possession, of a mass dance—which ends with a mysterious sacrificial baptism, of a newborn sanctified and thrown upon a pyre, with its nomination: "*Aku berikan nama kau... TAMAELA!*"^{dexiv} From the nightmare, the poet awakens as though possessed by the vitalism of the scene, assuming (in the first performance of the poem dedicated to the Malukan artist Dien Tamaela) the persona of the ancestral medium, *Pattirajawane*—an omnipresent spirit that guards and animates the natural world, the chosen of the gods, a figure that beckons armies of the divine in spite—resurrecting an indigenous spiritualism that imaginatively surpasses the self-deification of an occupying power.

Conclusion:

In an essay published during the transition to Indonesian independence (in December 1945), Chairil imagines the nation's re-emergence from the Japanese occupation as the re-birth of "the

Word,” encapsulating the *zeitgeist* of his work through the myth of genesis, through the creative power of language:

‘Pujangga Baru’ selama 9 tahun tidak memperlihatkan corak [...]. Maka datanglah ‘Kulturkammer’ Jepang dengan nama ‘Pusat Kebudayaan’ yang member kesempatan tumbuhnya ‘kesenian’ dengan garis-garis Asia Raya—jarak—kapas—memperlipat ganda hasil bumi—romusha—menabung—pembikinan kapal dan lain-lain. Dan terjelma pulalah pasukan seniman muda yang dengan patuhnya tinggal dalam garis-garis tersebut, tidak sedikitpun berdaya meninggalkannya!!! [...] Sekarang: Hopplaa! Lompatan yang sejauhnyanya, penuh kedara remajaan bagi Negara remaja ini. Sesudah masa mendurhaka pada Kati kita lupa bahwa Kata adalah yang menjalar mengurat, hidup dari masa ke masa [...]. Dan waktu lamapau cuma mengajar kita: didesakkannya kita ke kesedaran yang ada memang dalam diri sendiri; harga-harga kerohanian yang sudah terobek-robek kita raba kembali dalam bentuk sepenuh-penuhnya. Dunia—terlebih kita—yang kehilangan kemerdekaan dalam segala makna, menikmati kembali kelezatannya kemerdekaan.^{dcxv}

In all its nine years *Pujangga Baru* was utterly bland [...]. Then comes the Japanese ‘Culture Board,’ labeled ‘Cultural Center,’ which made possible the development of a strictly Greater Asian ‘art’—castor oil—cotton—increasing farm yields—Indonesians driven to Japan as coolies [*romusha*]¹—put your pennies in the piggy-bank—shipbuilding, and all the rest. And also young artists turned into disciplined shock troops, within the confines of Greater Asia-ness, often powerfully confined within those limits!!! [...] And now: Hoppla! A jump great enough to fulfill the promise of this young nation of ours. After the rebellion against the Word, we forgot that the Word spreads its roots, lives from era to era [...]. And the past will only teach us that this pushing urgency we’re aware of is simply in ourselves; the price of the spirituality we’ve destroyed is that we must grope our way back in the best style possible. When it loses the fullness of its freedom, the world—ourselves most of all—enjoys recovering the savor of freedom.^{dcxvi}

In examining the correlation between poetic reception and the mythification of national history through the creation of a poem’s “plausible contexts,” the foregoing analysis suggests how the poetry of Chairil Anwar posthumously became synonymous with the Indonesian Revolution, a foundational moment in national history, forming the (contested) subtext of a nationalized, *poetic revolution* nominally designated by the “generation of 1945” (the year Indonesia declared independence). The preceding analysis, in other words, suggests the extent to which Chairil (the poet and his poetry) came to symbolize the nation in its nascence in Indonesian popular imagination, becoming synonymous with a definitive moment in the nation’s formation. As Hobbsbawm has suggested more generally of this process, “entirely new symbols and devices came into existence as part of national movements and states, such as the national anthem [...] or the personification of ‘the nation’ in symbol or image.”^{dcxvii} If Chairil envisioned, in 1945, the

mythicization of the Indonesian Revolution as an absolute regeneration, and posthumously came to be identified with the foundational performance of Indonesian literary modernity, he perhaps could not have predicted the somewhat paradoxical extent to which he came to be intertwined with the making of national *tradition*. As Hobsbawm has suggested on how the ‘modern’ becomes a national tradition: “Inventing traditions [...] is essentially a process of formalization and ritualization, characterized by reference to the past, if only by imposing repetition.”^{dcxviii} The foregoing discussion has suggested the ways in which poetry became complicit with this process of recurrence. As Benedict Anderson has put forth on the subject of poetry and the nation (in a formulation subordinate to his more frequently cited connection between national imagining and the novel):

there is a special kind of contemporaneous community which language alone suggests—above all in the form of poetry and songs. Take national anthems, for example [...]. No matter how banal the words and mediocre the tunes, there is in this singing an experience of simultaneity. At precisely such moments, people wholly unknown to each other utter the same verses to the same melody. The image: unisonance. [...] Yet such choruses are joinable in time. [...] If nationalness has about it an aura of fatality, it is nonetheless a fatality embedded in *history*.^{dcxix}

As suggested by the myth of monoglossia and unisonance through which Chairil Anwar’s poetry has been memorialized, this participation within the “contemporaneous community” of a national, civic public is created (or understood) not only through the projection of a collective simultaneity (in certain print media: newsprint and novel), but through the strange temporality of trans-historic ritual, of recurrent commemoration. One finds nonetheless embedded within the prefatory phrase of Chairil’s 1945 essay an insight into the paradox of his own nationalization, and the paradox of his allegedly historic performance of the “modern”: “Since a man can only write according to beliefs long and deeply held, don’t try to follow a faith that still belongs to the future.”^{dcxx}

Dissertation Conclusion:

If the first half of this dissertation, on Senegal, built a preliminary method of comparative interpretation, in part by qualifying Frederic Jameson's reading of Sembene, the second case study on Indonesia extended these methods in part with reference to Benedict Anderson's work as both an Indonesianist and as a comparative theorist of nationalism and its complementary literary forms.^{dcxxi} Based on the premise that the correspondence between political history and literary form is less enduringly referential (or allegorical) than metalingual, the first case study examined the historical conditions and reflexive traces of linguistic choice in the composition of Senegalese literary texts in Arabic, French, and Wolof. Language choice was a functional proxy or analytical variable for tracing the correspondence between politics and literary form, not for the presumed equivalence between particular languages and political ideologies, but because an ideological defense historically accompanied the public justification of linguistic choice for the authors studied, and motivated the aesthetic decisions developed in support of this defense. The first case study was confined to the nation (of Senegal) as a unit of analysis, though the juxtaposition of authors that comprised the study (Bamba, Senghor, and Sembene) illustrated the contested nature of this category, imagined by an Arabophone poet in Islamic ecumenical terms as linguistically integrated with Mauritania and the Hijaz, in Francophone terms through a "trans-mediterranean" Federalism, and in radically circumscribed (anti-Federalist) terms represented through a leftist, romanized Wolof print-culture and local language cinema. The rivalry or contrast between these projections of collective belonging were evident through the traces of linguistic competition (between Arabic, French, and Wolof) inscribed in the work of these three authors and in the historical conditions of their writing (or filming).

If the first three chapters of this dissertation focused on Senegal as a regional, West African

case study, the addition of a second case study from Southeast Asia offered further evidence on the correspondence between political ideology (pan-Islamism, Nationalism, Communism) and literary forms, without eclipsing the contextual specificities of language choice in Indonesian literature. The position of Senegal and Indonesia at the continental extremes of a literary realm with a common Islamic and Arabic textual tradition offered a preliminary basis for combining these case studies, with Senegal and Indonesia arguably located at the periphery of a historical, Islamic ecumene or Arabic-language cosmopolis. The structure of the second case study on Indonesia replicated the first one on Senegal, examining three Indonesian authors whose work offered a point of access to the relationship between pan-Islamism, the international left, nationalism, and local literatures, with the problem of language choice as a point of convergence. The dissertation thereby assumed the unprecedented task of examining the discrete literary histories of Senegal and Indonesia as parallel case studies in the evolution of Asian and African literatures, in order to test the limits and utility of the national paradigm as a unit of literary analysis and to suggest an alternative to the exclusively binary (colonial/postcolonial) constructions often subtending the isolated study of these national literatures.

To further conclude on the implications of this comparison: the preceding analyses pertain to Benedict Anderson's primary arguments on the rise of nationalism and its complementary media (newsprint and the novel). In the course of my readings, I presented largely unexamined counter-evidence to Anderson's claims from Indonesian literary history. In light of this comparative reading of African and Asian literatures, I take exception to three of Anderson's major premises, the first involving his assertion that the desacralization of devotional language was a general precondition to nationalism's formation with the decline of devotional Latin for European Christendom taken as his primary model. This argument does not appear to

hold true for adherents of an Islamic ecumene, for which Arabic continues to retain its status as a sacralized, religious acrolect (given exemplary evidence here taken from within Senegal and Indonesia). Secondly, Anderson's frequently cited emphasis on the corresponding rise of nationalism and the novel appears overstated when a compelling correlation exists between the rise of nationalism and revolutionary poetry in both the Senegalese and Indonesian cases (in the mid-twentieth century).^{dcxxii} His argument that "print language invents nationalism," and that markets for print-capital were sites of national imagining, also fails to sufficiently account for the problem of agency in the creation and circumscription of the national, particularly where the dominant language of print-markets is concerned.^{dcxxiii}

Anderson's model on the rise of nationalism and its complementary literary forms depends on the presumed decline of devotional script-languages, the erosion of dynastic forms of government (based on divine rule), and the perceived divergence between cosmological and historical time.^{dcxxiv} He bases these assumptions on a primarily European model: with the schismatic fragmentation of a European, Christian ecumene, the vernacularization of religious ritual with the decline of devotional Latin, and the ultimately "(intra)-mundane status" of vernacular European languages and their respective ontologies (achieved through the rise of vernacular print markets). A fundamental misalignment, however, exists between his model, largely dependant on the historical trajectory of European Christendom, and its modular extension to nationalist movements across Asia and Africa throughout the twentieth century. Anderson asserts that, "[i]n a word, the fall of Latin exemplified a larger process in which the sacred communities integrated by old sacred languages were gradually fragmented, pluralized, and territorialized."^{dcxxv} But, by contrary evidence presented here, the disintegration and fragmentation of "old sacred communities" across large expanses of Africa and Asia did not

mean the parallel decline of religious acrolects (like devotional Arabic) along with the “fall of Latin.” Rather, the fall of devotional Latin in Europe corresponded to the introduction of its linguistically variegated script into areas where dynastic and religious communities continued to employ a devotional Arabic, not merely for religious purposes but also for the transcription of local languages. The subsequent “fragmentation” and “pluralization” of communities that followed this encounter has generally been accounted for within the most obvious epiphenomenon of political reterritorialization—the redrawing of political boundaries (maps) and the official accounting for demographic difference (the census, the colonial and national museum), the subject of Anderson’s own revisions to *Imagined Communities*^{dcxxvi}—but less well investigated has been the process of “fragmentation” and “pluralization” that resulted from the rising dominance of administrative Latin-script languages over their Arabic alternatives (where the latter had assumed the dual function of both an administrative script and religious language for a large demographic).

Using Bamba and Hamka’s writing as a point of access (from Senegal and Indonesia), I would contend that the desacralization of a devotional language (Arabic) was resisted within an Islamic ecumene, and did not precede (or accompany) nationalism’s ascent where a Muslim demographic was concerned.^{dcxxvii} At the continental extremes of Asia and Africa in both Indonesia and Senegal, where local languages had been transcribed in Arabic, although the advent or expression of a nationalist cause in secular or religiously pluralistic terms coincided with the political marginalization of the Arabic language and script (during the colonial period), this process of Arabic’s exclusion from overtly political use did not correspond to the *decline* of the devotional language, but instead to its esotericization, to the confirmation of its status as an inherently sacred, religious acrolect for its most devout adherents—an elevated status which it

currently retains for a Muslim majority. If Latin and the “great religiously imagined community” it represented in Europe was, by Anderson’s argument, subject to a process of “gradual demotion” after the late Middle Ages, precipitated in part by “the explorations of the non-European world,” “when even the most devout adherents” of the Christian faith “were inescapably confronted with the [...] allomorphism between [their] faith’s ontological claims and territorial stretch,” the legacy of these European explorations (in Senegal and Indonesia) did not necessarily render for devotional Arabic the same fate as the encounter implied for devotional Latin.^{dcxxviii} The language instead rose in status, offered a form of sanctuary for devotees, like Bamba in Senegal, marginalized by the encounter. To read Hamka in Indonesia, the circumscription of Arabic from public use, instead of consigning the devotional language to obscurity and oblivion, affirmed its status as symbolic capital, an at times fiercely protected emblem of alterity and difference to the colonial incursion and its cultural legacies. In both cases, by these examples, the “most devout adherents” of Islam continued to have “confidence in the unique sacredness” of their devotional languages and continued to believe that, in mediating between vernacular languages and Arabic, they “mediated between Earth and Heaven.”^{dcxxix} For these “devout adherents,” when “confronted with the allomorphism between [their] faith’s ontological claims and territorial stretch,” time was not reapprehended as divorced from divine providence. Through a language still viewed as inherently sacred, cosmology was continually deployed for the explanation of historical events.^{dcxxx}

The basis of this sustained influence of Arabic within a context of scriptural bifurcation can perhaps be clarified with reference to Partha Chatterjee’s critique of Anderson on the “modular” quality of European nationalisms, a critique in which Chatterjee emphasizes the difference between European nationalism and “anti-colonial” nationalisms in Asia and Africa.^{dcxxxi} As a

starting point for examining the distinctiveness of anti-colonial nationalism, Chatterjee identifies a unique paradox central to its formation: it emerges first as a struggle for equality, as the negation of difference with a dominating colonial power, and therefore arises in mimicry of the colonial state. However, “[t]he most powerful as well as the most creative results of the nationalist imagination in Asia and Africa are posited not on an identity but rather on a *difference* with the ‘modular’ forms of the national society propagated by the modern West.”^{dcxxxii} (I would suggest that, in Senegal and Indonesia, devotional Arabic became a—highly contested—emblem of this “internal” difference.) From this paradox of mimicry and difference, a problem then arises of how to account for the internal distinctions overlooked in descriptions of postcolonial nationalism that exclusively emphasize an inheritance from and identity with the colonial state.^{dcxxxiii} As Chatterjee characterizes this problem: “autonomous forms of imagination of the community were, and continue to be, overwhelmed and swamped by the history of the postcolonial state. [...] If the nation is an imagined community and if nations must also take the form of states, then our theoretical language must allow us to talk about community and state at the same time. I do not think our present theoretical language allows us to do this.”^{dcxxxiv}

Chatterjee’s suggestion to build a “theoretical language” that “allow[s] us to talk about community and state at the same time” is of particular importance for investigating the symbiosis of two visions of communalism in places like Indonesia and Senegal (with a Muslim majority), where a community of difference (from colonialism) came to be signified by an enduring attachment to a devotional language (Arabic), coexisting with a romanized state apparatus conjoined to the legacies of print-colonialism. Chatterjee’s own solution distinguishes between “two domains” of postcolonial nationalism, “the material and the spiritual,”^{dcxxxv} where a domain of interior difference—what Chatterjee call the “spiritual domain”—can be distinguished from an

external (“material) domain in mimesis of the colonial state:

anticolonial nationalism creates its own domain of sovereignty within colonial society well before it begins its political battle with the imperial power. It does this by dividing the world of social institutions and practices into two domains—the material and the spiritual. The material is the domain of the “outside,” of the economy and of statecraft, of science and technology, a domain where the West had proved its superiority and the East had succumbed. In this domain, then, Western superiority had to be studied and replicated. The spiritual, on the other hand, is an “inner” domain bearing the “essential” marks of cultural identity. [...] The greater one’s success in imitating Western skills in the material domain, therefore, the greater need to preserve the distinctiveness of one’s spiritual culture. This formula is, I think, a fundamental feature of anticolonial nationalisms in Asia and Africa.^{dcxxxvi}

While building on Chatterjee’s efforts to underscore the limits of statist (and Eurocentric) accounts of postcolonial nationalism, I nonetheless question the extension of certain of his conclusions to postcolonial Asian and African nationalisms more generally. This, I suspect, is due to the very different nature of our evidence. If language, in the emergence of postcolonial nationalism as “internal difference,” “became a zone over which the nation first had to declare its sovereignty,” and if this occurred successfully in Bengal (the locus of his study) where an “entire institutional network of printing presses, publishing houses, newspapers, magazines and literary societies” existed “through which the new language [of the nation], modern and standardized, is given shape” “outside the purview of the state and the European missionaries”—this model of autonomy over language as a site of internal difference was not in other cases entirely distinct from the interventions of colonial power.^{dcxxxvii} In both Senegal and Indonesia, the continental extremes of Asia and Africa where a textual Arabic tradition preceded a romanized one, Arabic continued to retain its significance as an emblem of difference from the colonial state, but it was politically marginalized due precisely to this status as a potent signifier of difference. Even as a romanized print apparatus was inherited from the colonial state and appropriated by post-independence Senegal and Indonesia, this romanized print apparatus

demonstrated by its very displacement of an Arabic precedent the local *limits of linguistic autonomy or sovereignty* in the service of anti-colonial nationalism in both regions. In other words, while acknowledging the importance of Chatterjee's observation on the limits of statist accounts of post-colonial nationalism, his assumption of complete sovereignty or autonomy over domains of "internal difference" cannot be so generally concluded. I would suggest that the solution to this problem (returning again to my original critique of Anderson) lies in paying greater attention to the problem of agency when examining language as a site of contested sovereignty and "internal difference."^{dcxxxviii}

Anderson emphasizes, as a general rule, that "the fixing of print-languages and the differentiation of status between them were largely unselfconscious processes resulting from the explosive interaction between capitalism, technology and human linguistic diversity. But [...] once 'there,' they could become formal models to be imitated, and, where expedient, consciously exploited in Machiavellian spirit."^{dcxxxix} I would argue, on the contrary, that to generally attribute these trends to the impersonal workings of capitalism, technology, and "human linguistic diversity" (and to consider them only *ex post facto* exploitable) is to ignore the crucial interventions of human agency in this process, an agency that the authours included in this dissertation heavily emphasized in their writing. To conclude that "the fixing of print-languages and the differentiation of status between them were largely unselfconscious, impersonal processes" further ignores that the frontlines of linguistic competition in colonial print-markets were at their origins asymmetrical, not only structurally favoring certain script-languages over others, but also, and from their introduction, amenable to the interventions and exploitations of an interested, sovereign power. If indeed print-language is what invents nationalism, the terms of exclusion (or inclusion) sown in the creation of dominant, print-languages or scripts deserve

considerable attention, given what I suspect renders a narrative quite different between nationalisms in Europe and those engendered in formerly colonized regions of Asia and Africa. If, at a critical point, European vernacular print markets arose in a climate of general competition, to assume a comparable degree of equal opportunity in otherwise colonized regions appears problematic, where sovereign intervention within local markets was the norm rather than the exception—indeed, was the very definition of the sovereign.

To build on evidence taken here on Senegal and Indonesia, illuminated in part by David Grewal Singh's paradigmatic treatment of the problem of agency in linguistic communities, I would suggest that, contrary to Anderson's general characterization of print-capitalism as proceeding largely by "accident," and only *ex post facto* exploited by sovereign forces, a more detailed account of the convergence and competition between individual, sovereign, and collective agency in capitalist-print markets (and beyond) is warranted for a more accurate narration of nationalism's emergence through dominant print-languages. The decision in this study to focus on *choice* corresponds to an insistence that the problem of agency be accounted for—and, perhaps of equal importance, that the omissions implied by languages favored by print-markets nonetheless fall into view in historical accounts of national "imagining" (to return to the problem highlighted by Chatterjee on non-statist contributions to the rise of nationalism). In other words, it is less through the singular, impersonal forces of "capitalism" and "technology" than the sum of individual choices and the cumulative forces of social coercion that language, as with any medium of exchange, becomes a dominant standard. The challenge in analyzing this dynamic then becomes one of understanding the possibility of entrapment in a social structure without focusing to excess on these structures, to eclipse the possibility that individual agents can radically transform them.^{dcx1} This project in part investigates the peculiar

creativity—the impulse to innovation and independence—amidst the collective forces of coercion with the unprecedented rise of a new linguistic standard for administrative, political use and literary print. To modify or correct Anderson’s model for its basis on the “impersonal” workings of print-capital is to privilege or underscore the problem of personal agency in this process: to acknowledge the structures of coercion faced by individual authors as “choosing agents,” while emphasizing their innovations within this peculiar dynamic of cumulative entrapment. With this objective, the dissertation examined the (at times revolutionary) position assumed by individual authors when faced with the overwhelming pressures of standardization in print-capitalist markets. It further opposed and compared the *individual role* defined by the author in his work, reflexively depicted as an agent of choice.

Part of this emphasis falls into line with Anderson’s own sympathies—as with Sembene in Senegal and Ngũgĩ wa Thiong’o in Kenya, Pramoedya’s writing exemplifies a common trend most discernable when juxtaposed with other authors of the international left. The work of these leftist writers suggest their common fixation with the *exclusions* of print-capitalism, as their interest in *historicizing* the process of this exclusion generally involves the demythification (and at times satirization) of dominant-print languages and local status languages—of acrolects that have become, through conventional narratives of national history or through the interventions of (and reactions to) print-colonialism, virtually sacralized. To read these writers collectively and to consider their shared focus on the problem of material disenfranchisement is perhaps to conclude the following (in a final note on Chatterjee): although an oppositional spiritualism may be a particular feature of anticolonial, nationalist writing—and *perhaps a function of material disempowerment*, i.e., of “choosing [a] site of autonomy from a position of subordination”—a reversion to oppositional spiritualism is nonetheless *not everyone’s choice*.^{dexli}

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ⁱ Sukarno cited in Prashad, xvii.

ⁱⁱ Cf. Dipesh's Chakrabarty's article on Bandung in *Making a World After Empire: The Bandung Moment and Its Political Afterlives*, Ed. Christopher J. Lee, Ohio University Press, 2010.

ⁱⁱⁱ Gayatri Spivak in *Death of a discipline* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), suggests (as an antidote to this trend) a shift in emphasis within the field towards the languages of the Global South (pp. 9-12).

^{iv} Gayatri Spivak, *Death of a Discipline*, 11.

^v Cf. Ronit Ricci, *Islam Translated*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2011.

^{vi} Although this dissertation offers a circumscribed investigation of *négritude* as a linguistic concept in Senghor's work, the term itself has broader implications and refers more generally to a literary movement of "black cultural nationalism" developed in the 1930s and 1940s among African Francophone writers, but first used (Cf. Abiola Irele, "What is Negritude?" in *African Literature: An Anthology of Criticism and Theory*, edited by Tejumola Olaniyan and Ato Quayson (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2007) 204. The term was first used in Aimé Césaire's poem, *Cahier d'un retour au pays natal* (in 1939), and was defined by Césaire as: "the simple recognition of the fact of being black, and the acceptance of this fact, of our destiny as black people, of our history, and our culture" (Césaire cited in Irele 203). For more on the distinction between Senghor and Césaire's notions of *négritude*, cf. Jacqueline Leiner, "Africa and the West Indies: Two Negritudes," *European-Language Writing in Sub-Saharan Africa* edited by Albert S. Gérard, Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1986. 1135-1153.

vii The preponderant use of the Arabic language as a *de facto* official, transactional language in French West Africa throughout the nineteenth century is mentioned by Harrison, Robinson, and Klein. Its use as a language of mediation with the colonial administration is most extensively treated in David Robinson's *Paths of Accommodation*, detailing Governor Faidherbe's establishment of a translation service in St. Louis for Arabic correspondence (under the director of political affairs), an office that effectively served as a diplomatic operation and reception center for Chiefs and Marabouts in the Senegalo-Mauritanian zone (Cf. David Robinson, *Paths of Accommodation: Muslim Societies and French Colonial Authorities in Senegal and Mauritania, 1880-1920* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2000), 55, 62, 71-85, 257-60). The interpreter's office (headed by a French-appointed Muslim official, known as the *tamsir*) handled correspondence and treaty formulation, and relied heavily on Muslim/Arabic language interpreters drawn from a small circle of families based in St. Louis: the Anne and Seck families, and the family of Bu el Mogdad. (Robinson suggests that, after the death of family patriarchs in the 1880s, a power vacuum in the translation service contributed to credibility problems and a period of political instability for the administration. Cf. Robinson 83). Robinson also discusses the more informal French use of interpreters from among the Muslim merchant class of St. Louis ("the sons of Ndar") for mediations with Senegal's regional interior. The notion that the use of the Arabic language and/or script as a *de facto* official, transactional medium was limited to Islamized areas is qualified by the following detail. According to Klein, working on the Sereer states of Sine and Saloum (the region from where the catholic Senghor hailed, and in which the Sereer populace largely resisted conversion to Islam), court marabouts were nonetheless consistently observed at the Sereer courts, charged with official court correspondence (according to Portuguese records from seventeenth century) (Cf. Martin A. Klein, *Islam and Imperialism in Senegal: Sine-Saloum, 1847-1914* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1968), 16, 27). This suggests that, even in regions where Islam had a differential religious impact, Arabic appears to have been employed as a transactional, official script or language.

viii As Babou suggests, this can be seen as a continuity or intensification of Bamba's early distance from political authority at the court of Lat Joor. (Cf. Cheikh Anta Babou, *Fighting the Greater Jihad: Amadu Bamba and the Founding of the Muridiyya of Senegal, 1853-1913* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2007), pp. 56, 144).

ix On the French Translation of Hurgronje see: "Politique musulmane de la Hollande" (*Revue du Monde Musulman* 5, no. 6, (1911). This publication is mentioned in Robinson: 74 and 266-77.

^xCf. Conklin.

xi It should also be mentioned that Gérard counters (based largely on Samb's unprecedented and as yet unrivaled survey work on nineteenth and twentieth century Arabic literature in Senegal) that there is no evidence to suggest that Arabic language literature or native language literatures in Arabic script existed prior to the nineteenth century in Senegal (Cf. Amar Samb, *Essai sur la contribution du Sénégal à la littérature d'expression arabe*, Dakar: IFAN, 1972). Gérard implies, in other words, that, in the absence of further academic findings on the subject (beyond the work of Amar Samb), one must conclude that the phenomenon of ajami and Arabic language

literature in Senegal coincided with Islamic proselytism, and the growth of Islamic reform movements in the nineteenth century (Albert Gérard, *African Language Literatures: An Introduction to the Literary History of Sub-Saharan Africa*. (Harlow: Longman, 1981), 35, 41, 72). Regardless of whether Gérard's hypothesis is correct, it should be noted that such conclusions are themselves based on a dearth of research on the subject, and, given the as yet unknown or indeterminate historical origins of this literature, it suffices (for my purposes) to observe that a tradition of Senegalese writing (in ajami and in Arabic) largely preceded (and initially overwhelmed in volume) a French or francophone alternative. Camara Sana writing on the Wolofal tradition proceeded from the Islamization of the Wolof in the seventeenth century, and that the earliest examples of the transcription of Wolof into Latin script took place with the missionary transcription/translation of the Bible (Sana 164). [double check with West African linguistics article]. As Samb argues of the difficulties of working on Arabic literature in Senegal, Sana also writes on the difficulty of accessing Wolofal poetry as much of the poetry is guarded in private family collections, and manuscripts available on the market are often transcribed by copyists who are not faithful to the original (and often add or embellish lines of poetry) (165). Sana Camara and R. H. Mitsch "'A'jami' Literature in Senegal: The Example of Sëriñ Muusaa Ka, Poet and Biographer" *Research in African Literatures*, Vol. 28, No. 3, *Arabic Writing in Africa* (Autumn, 1997), pp. 163-182. In point of contrast, (though this is not my present objective, it would be a natural, comparative extension of this observation): John Hunwick, writing on traditions of Arabic writing in Nigeria, writes of signs of the more public, market dissemination of Arabic writing in Nigeria (noting that the earliest Arabic printing presses established in the 1920s, the Kano Native Authority Press (213), and that as a scholarly and literary language present in Nigeria for over five centuries, use of the language itself "shows no signs of diminishing" (John Hunwick, "The Arabic Literary Tradition of Nigeria," *Research in African Literatures*, Vol. 28, No. 3, *Arabic Writing in Africa* (Autumn, 1997), 210-223). Perhaps not insignificantly, this occurred at around the time when France intensified their surveillance and curtailment of Arabic language materials into the AOF (See Christopher Harrison *France and Islam in West Africa, 1860-1960* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), xx).

xii The earliest Wolof vocabularies were transcribed into English and Dutch in the late seventeenth early eighteenth century P.E.H. Hair, "The Contribution of Early Linguistic Material to the History of West Africa," *Language and History in Africa* edited by David Dalby (New York: Africana Publishing Corporation, 1970), 52. Despite early missionary attempts to transcribe native languages in Latin script (beginning from the second quarter of the nineteenth century with the printing of Wolof dictionaries and grammars), these efforts can be considered by and large unsystematic and limited in impact, and largely destined for missionary purposes rather than for a general public (cf. Desmond T. Cole, "The history of African linguistics to 1945" 1971 (vii), 18).

xiii This was the fate of poets like Séex Aliyu Ndaw (one of Senegal's most renowned Wolof poets writing in Latin script). Ndaw was involved in Wolof literacy initiatives (such as the 1958 production of the Wolof syllabary, *Ijjib Wolof*, and the first vernacular language journal, *Kaddu*, founded in 1971 by a group including Ousmane Sembene).

xiv Arame Fal, "OSAD's Experience in the publishing of books in national languages," in *Literacy and Linguistic Diversity in Global Perspective: An Intercultural Exchange with African Countries*, edited by Neville Alexander and Brigitta Busch (Strasbourg: European Centre for Modern Languages/Council of Europe Publishing), 35.

xv According to Klein, trade in accacia gum (used by the French textile industry for printing on high quality cloth) had become by the early nineteenth century as lucrative as the slave trade in the Senegal river area. (Klein xx).

xvi Faidherbe, Governor of Senegal, 1860, cited in Didier Hamoneau, *Vie et Enseignement du Cheikh Ahmadou Bamba* (Bierut: Al-Bouraq, 1998), 51.

xvii My translation.

xviii Governor de Lamothe cited in Alice Conklin, *A Mission to Civilize: The Republican Idea of Empire in France and West Africa, 1895-1930* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 84. Original document JO of Senegal 24, Feb. 1894 publication of Lamothe's 1893 address to a graduating class of Senegalese interpreters.

xix Robert Arnaud cited in Harrison, 97.

xx This formulation is taken from Trentinnian (Governor of Sudan in the late nineteenth century), who suggested of Islam that an "insuperable barrier can be turned into a precious instrument of conquest" Trentinnian cited in Harrison 34.

xxi See footnote 1.

xxii As Harrison paraphrases Governor Merleau Ponty (1908-1914): "If the 'Islam of our West Africa' was to be kept unsullied by foreign influences then it was essential that the linguistic barrier between black Africa and the

Arab world should be maintained.” (Governor Merleau Ponty cited in Harrison 51).

xxiii Harrison has also suggested that among the causes of this shift were the political climate in the hexagon during the 1890s in the wake of the espionage crisis later known as the Dreyfus affair.

xxiv The Federation was comprised of: The Ivory Coast, Guinea, Senegal, and Soudan (Present day Mali). In 1902, the seat of colonial government was transferred from St. Louis to Dakar under Governor Ernest Roume (as part of the economic restructuring of the colonies).

xxv The French colonial administration continued to center their rule from the coasts, and to implement an unequal program of development between urban coastal centers (St. Louis, Dakar), and the rural interior. The extension of citizenship rights to residents of the coastal communes effectively contributed to (according to Gellar) a double system of government or rule (with urban French-educated elites enjoying representation in democratically elected assemblies, enjoying access to colonial judiciary, whereas the rural population (beyond four coastal communes) were instead considered colonial “subjects” of France, and ruled by the *indigénat*, a legal code according to which the French had the liberty to punish for non-payment of taxes, and for refusing conscription into forced labor gangs). The unequal access to citizenship rights, legal representation, and public goods and services (education, health infrastructure) was a point of contention among the earliest deputies sent from Dakar to the National Assembly in France (including Senghor, the poet-politician treated in the following chapter). This was remedied in the 1940s, however with the elimination of the *indigénat*, and the extension of electoral rights/suffrage to rural areas. This inaugurated a trend of political alliances made between secular, French educated elites (involved in electoral politics) and Muslim clerics (who gained influence among rural populace during the French colonial marginalization of traditional aristocracy in the nineteenth century). Sheldon Gellar, *Senegal: An African Nation Between Islam and the West*, 2nd Edition (Boulder: Westview Press, 1995), 9-11.

xxvi On this notion of “adapted” education, focused primarily on agricultural or “practical training,” see Conklin pp. 79- 80. This notion of the suitability of adapted/practical training for the colonies (resulting in great disparities in educational quality between the colonies and the hexagon) is one that Senghor criticized frequently in his early political career in the National Assembly.

xxvii Conklin 84.

xxviii Ponty cited in Harrison 51-2. [Original document: ANS M 241, Governor-General AOF circular, 8 May 1911]. This trend in linguistic politics was not only designed to minimize a perceived ideological threat; it also coincided with Ponty's objective to bypass the use of provincial chiefs and to limit the influence traditional marabouts in favor of a newly trained francophone elite, selected independently of traditional aristocratic lineages (an objective and series of reforms known as Ponty's “*politique des races*” (first articulated in 1909). See Conklin 115, 118.

xxix Pharevong cited in Harrison 86.

xxx *Ibid* 51, 64.

xxxi *Ibid* 108.

xxxii Ponty cited in Conklin 131.

xxxiii Conklin 132.

xxxiv Harrison 11, xx.

xxxv Harrison 62-65.

xxxvi “*Rapport confidentiel sur les mourides d'Amadou Bamba, Janvier 1914*,” cited in Cheikh Anta Babou, *Fighting the Greater Jihad: Amadu Bamba and the Founding of the Muridiyya of Senegal, 1853-1913* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2007) 171- 172). According to two letters addressed to the Lieutenant Governor of the AOF in 1913, Bamba, eventually accepted the teaching of French to some of his students, sending a number to the High School in St. Louis, and others to a French Agricultural school (Babou 160, fn. 71).

xxxvii My translation. This line is also cited in Babou (p. 85), whose translation reads: “Teaching the youth is tantamount to engraving a rock, while educating an old person is comparable to writing on water.”

xxxviii If Marty considered it 'politic' (or a diplomatic concession) to permit qur'anic educational institutions considerable freedom, his vilification of the Arabic language or desire to otherwise and elsewhere actively limit the use of the Arabic language (within the public domain) sustained the longstanding perception (among colonial policymakers) of Arabic as a potentially radicalizing force (and source of ideological opposition to a French colonial presence in West Africa). As Harrison writes: “Marty continued Ponty's crusade against the use of Arabic in the administration. At the end of 1918 the Lieutenant-Governor of Senegal decided to include a compulsory oral and written examination in Arabic for all interpreters. Marty considered this to be, “an affront to the Muslim policy inaugurated in 1908 by M. Ponty and methodically followed since by all the Governor-Generals. [I presume that Marty uses 1908 as the starting point, as this is when Ponty was appointed governor, although the circular, the

official decision, took place in 1911.] The Governor-General has eliminated Arabic, the vehicle of Islam, from all the official institutions in AOF. To reinstate it officially and obligatorily in the interpreters' exam is to work towards Islamising in a short space of time the corps of Senegalese interpreters and to transform them into marabouts who will be much more loyal to local pontiffs than to the order of the administrator. It would also result in eliminating numbers of young fetishists, Christian or religiously independent young Senegalese who have not learned, and who have no need to learn, Arabic and the principles of the Muslim faith. It would obviously favour Arabic to the detriment of French, and the marabout to the detriment of the schoolteacher." Paul Marty cited in Harrison 128-9.

xxxix Marty cited in Harrison 109.

xl Marty cited in Harrison 108.

xli Harrison 128-9, 108.

xliv See Babou 58. Bamba's sister, at the age of nine or ten years old, was also abducted by slave raiders in one of the conflicts between Lat Joor's forces and the opposing army of the king of Bawol, resulting in the relocation of the family (to Saluum) when Bamba was approximately 12 or 14 (Babou 42).

xlvi For accounts and examples of this estrangement, see Babou 41, 55, 59.

xlv Cited in Babou 126, footnote 61.

xlv According to David Robinson (who comparatively interprets Bamba's career as a religious figure in relation to Sidiyya Baba, Saad Bu, and al-Malik Sy) notes that Bamba "patterned his career around the life of the Prophet in ways that do not resonate in the careers of the other marabouts" Robinson 236.

xlvi A *karāma* is the miracle of a saint, as opposed to the *'Ijaz/m'ujiza*, the miracle of the Prophet's eloquence. For more on the epistemological nature of Bamba's *karāma*, see Babou 136, footnote 106.

xlvii Babou 135, footnote 100.

xlviii Babou 135.

xlix My translation, "The Graces of Eternity," line 11, Ode No. 21, based on an excerpt found in Fernand Dumont's *La pensée religieuse d'Amadou Bamba*. Dakar : Les Nouvelles Éditions Africaines, 1975.

l My translation, "The bastion of virtue," Ode No. 23, based on an excerpt found in Fernand Dumont's *La pensée religieuse d'Amadou Bamba*. Dakar : Les Nouvelles Éditions Africaines, 1975.

^h My translation. This excerpt of "*Jathab al-Qulūb*" [بجذ القلوب] is found on page 10 in Amadu Bamba, *Majmū'a Mubāraka Li Sheikhunā Ahmad al-Khadīm*. Touba, Senegal: Darou Khoudoss Touba, [n.d.]. The poem in its entirety spans pages 6-36. The exceptional rhyme scheme of this excerpt is one that is beyond my skills to render into English.

lii My translation, "The Keys to Paradise" ["*Mafatih ul-Jinan*"], Lines 4-5, emphasis added. Based on an excerpt found in Fernand Dumont's *La pensée religieuse d'Amadou Bamba*. Dakar : Les Nouvelles Éditions Africaines, 1975. This reading is consistent with E.E. Pritchard's conclusion that: "The aim of Sufism has been to transcend the senses and to attain through love identification with God so complete that there is no longer a duality of 'God' and 'I', but there is only 'God'. This is brought about by asceticism, living apart from the world, contemplation, charity, and the performance of supernumerary religious exercises producing a state of ecstasy in which the soul, no longer conscious of its individuality, of its bodily prison, or the external world, is for a while, united to God. (2) definition of Sufism offered by E. E. Pritchard cited in Sana Camara and R. H. Mitsch "A'jami' Literature in Senegal: The Example of Sériñ Muusaa Ka, Poet and Biographer" *Research in African Literatures*, Vol. 28, No. 3, *Arabic Writing in Africa* (Autumn, 1997), 170.

liii My translation, excerpted from "The light of the Prophet," Ode. 25, cited in Fernand Dumont's *La pensée religieuse d'Amadou Bamba*. Dakar: Les Nouvelles Éditions Africaines, 1975.

liv After returning from exile in Gabon, Bamba was deported to Mauritania in 1903, and assigned to the care of Sheikh Sidiyya Baba (a close French collaborator, and a former teacher of Bamba in the Qadiriyya order).

lv Babou 97.

lvi Abdul Ahad Mbakke collects their testimony. See Babou 152.

lvii Although Bamba had (earlier) been a disciple to Cheikh Sidiyya Baba in Mauritania, his development (since his earliest visits in 1883) as a Sufi master caused considerable tension for Moorish clerics, who continually saw themselves as racial superiors. According to Babou, it was for them "not easy to acknowledge the intellectual and spiritual authority of a 'black' over a 'bidan'" (meaning "white" and "bidan"): "Sidiyya Baba and his Moorish compatriots did not have much regard for their black colleagues on the other side of the Senegal River. Paul Marty, for example, quoted an excerpt from an unspecified work authored by Baba in which the latter wrote, "The Blacks think of themselves as Muslims however the majority among them do not have the slightest correct notion of what Islam is really about, they ignore the Islamic ethic, its law and principles. But we [the Moors in our capacity as teachers and guides] have a lot of responsibility to bear in this situation." On another occasion, Baba expressed his

scorn for the uncivilized “little black kinglets” of Senegal who did not deserve the attention the French gave them.” (See Babou 149, 62, footnotes 52 and 53).

^{lviii} Make note of why *Massālik al-Jinān*. Is so renowned.

^{lix} My translation. Original taken from Amadu Bamba. *Massālik al-Jinān*. Touba, Senegal: Darou Khoudoss Touba, [n.d], p. 5.

^{lx} These include (1) “*Muwayibul Qudūs*” [Gift from the Holiest], a versification of *Umul Barahim*, a book of theology by al-Sanusi (d. 1490), (2) “*Mullayinu Sudūr*” [The Enlightener of the Heart], completed in 1877, a verse-commentary on *Bidaya al-Hidaya* (a book on mysticism by Abu Hamid al-Ghazzali (d. 111); (3) “*Jawharu Nafis*” [The Precious Essence], the versification of a popular book on Islamic ritual practices by Abderrahman al-Akhdari (d. 1575).

For further details on this system, see Babou 80-83.

^{lxii} Babou 83.

^{lxiii} Ponty cited in Harrison, 113. The economic prosperity of the murid order has been a subject of considerable interest. For an overview of the function of the Murid *daara*, see Donal B. Cruise O'Brien *The Mourides of Senegal: The Political and Economic Organization of an Islamic Brotherhood* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 163-187. On Bamba's disinterested role in the economic success of the *daara*, cf. Cruise O'Brien, p. 52.

^{lxiv} See Robinson 5-6.

^{lxv} Governor Roume (1902-1908) established the Muslim Affairs Bureau in 1906, headed by Robert Arnaud (a close associate of Coppolani, the co-architect with Sidiyya Baba of the colonial pacification of Mauritania). Governor Ponty (1908-1914) appointed Paul Marty as Head of the Muslim Affairs bureau in 1912, where Marty remained until 1921, and built on this early alliance with Baba.

^{lxvi} The codification of the *bidan/sudan* division into a French colonial ethnography (and its contribution to political accommodation between colonial authorities and Muslim clerics in Senegal/Mauritania) is treated in Robinson 94-6. Sidiyya Baba's influence on this interpretation, and the formation of Mauritania as a racial construct, is also detailed in Robinson 231, 234-5. For a lengthier treatment of this codification of “Islam Noir”/“Islam Maure” (and the influence of earlier Islamicist scholarship/ethnography on Marty's writing), see Harrison 93.

^{lxvii} A portion of the Qur'an or a revealed combination of Qur'anic verses forming the conceptual basis of a Sufi order. Their ritual recitation is considered an act of devotion for the adherent to a particular order.

^{lxviii} Harrison 157.

^{lxix} For more on this transition, see Cheikh Anta Babou. “Contesting Space, Shaping Places: Making Room for the Muridiyya in Colonial Senegal, 1912-45.” *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 46, No. 3 (2005), pp. 405-426. For more on the practice of the *magal*, see Christian Coulon, ‘The grand magal in Touba’, *African Affairs*, 391 (1999), 195-210.

^{lxx} Ka cited and translated in Albert Gérard, 73. Other instances of this reflexive quality on Ka's choice of language can be found in two other poems (cited by Camara Sana). In “Boroomam” [‘His Lord], Ka writes: “The reason this poem—which should be sacred—is written in Wolof/ is that I hope to illuminate the unknowing about his Lord” [*Li tax woy wiy wolof te waroon di yaaram/ Damaa naar gaa yi jàngul xam Boroomam*]. In a second example (“Madlabul xaajaati”), Ka writes: “I have written in Wolof on behalf of the unknowing/ For I am able to write in Arabic without mistakes” [*Li tax mu di wolof li gaa yi jàngul / Nde men na maa woy ci Arab lu dëngul*]. (Both poems translated and transliterated into Latin script by Camara Sana (Sana Camara and R. H. Mitsch “‘A’jami’ Literature in Senegal: The Example of Sériñ Muusaa Ka, Poet and Biographer” *Research in African Literatures*, Vol. 28, No. 3, *Arabic Writing in Africa* (Autumn, 1997), 170). Ka (a relative and disciple of Bamba) was taught Arabic and the Qur'anic sciences by his Father, Usmaan Ka, before coming to Bamba's recognition for his poetry in both Arabic and Wolof (Sana 168).

^{lxxi} Conklin 138.

^{lxxii} Senghor has defined Francophonie as “the group of countries that use the French language, either as a national language or as a privileged means of international communication” [“*l'ensemble des pays qui emploie la langue française, soit comme langue nationale, soit comme moyen privilégié de communication internationale.*”].

Léopold Sédar Senghor, “Le Français et ses supports dialectaux. Communication de M. L.S. Senghor, VIIIe Biennale de la langue Française, Jersey, 18 Janvier 1980,” (Dakar: Centre de Documentation des Archives Nationales de la République du Sénégal, 1980), 4.

^{lxxiii} That *négritude* is less a racial concept than a linguistic (or linguistically bound) one, less an object of racial unity than an instrumental response to French colonialism, is implicit in the criticisms presented by the South African critic Ezekiel Mphahlele, who insists on the irrelevance of the term in Africa's former British colonies. (This

critique has also been advanced by the Nigerian critics Abiola Irele and Wole Soyinka.) Mpahlele suggests that the term (“négritude”) is, rather, a product of “assimilationist” French colonial policies: “It is significant that it is not the African in British-settled territories-- a product of ‘indirect rule’ and one that has been left in his cultural habitat-- who readily reaches out for his traditional past” (Mpahlele cited in Irving Markovitz, *Léopold Sédar Senghor and the politics of Negritude* (New York: Atheneum, 1969), 67). For an overview of literary criticism against Senghor’s *négritude*, See Peter Thompson “Négritude and a New Africa,” in Irele and Hymans, chapters 22-23.

^{lxxiv} Léopold Sédar Senghor, “Transcription de l’Assemblée Nationale Constituante, 1ère Séance du 18 Septembre, 1946,” (Dakar: 3 [Primary Source Document from the Centre de Documentation des Archives Nationales de la République du Sénégal in Dakar]. As Senghor mentions in this 1946 speech to the French National Assembly on the second-class status of Muslims in French West Africa: “Actuellement, tous ceux qui ne sont pas musulmans ont le statut français. Bien mieux, une même famille peut comprendre des musulmans et des catholiques. Ainsi, dans ma propre famille, nous serions partagé les uns, catholiques, ayant le statut français, auraient une représentation favorisée, tandis que les autres, parce qu’ils sont musulmans, auraient une représentation sacrifiée.” [At present, all those who are not muslims enjoy French status [citizenship]. Moreover, a single family can consist of muslims and catholics. As such, in my own family, we are divided among catholics who enjoy French status and favorable representation, whereas the rest, because they are muslims, suffer from a sacrificed representation.] (It should perhaps be mentioned that, though Senghor’s father converted to catholicism, his mother remained muslim though he often described her as an “animist” (Lilyan Kesteloot, *Comprendre les poèmes de Léopold Sédar Senghor* (Issy les Moulineaux: Les Classiques Africains, 1986), 31, 92) The extension of universal suffrage beyond the original, coastal communes of French West Africa after the Second World War intensified alliances between coastal, urban politicians seeking electoral support and a rural muslim clergy in the interior; this phenomenon partly explains Senghor’s initial electoral success (after forging an alliance with Bamba’s son in the first mouride succession struggle), and his continued political deference to mouride leadership during his presidency despite his cultural distance from this religious community (Cf. Sheldon Gellar, *Senegal : an African nation between Islam and the West*, 2nd ed. (Boulder.: Westview Press, 1995), 15-16).

^{lxxv} It should perhaps be mentioned that this term (“negrified Islam”) employed by Senghor exemplifies not only his public transposition of *négritude* upon the religious field; Senghor here also appears to (perhaps unwittingly) build upon and reinterpret the (derogatory) colonial-era distinction between an “*Islam Noir*” [Black Islam] and a (superior, more authentic) “*Islam Maure*” [Moorish Islam] (popularized by the French colonial Islamicist Paul Marty and discussed in the previous chapter). Senghor’s speech on “negrified Islam” emphasizes Bamba’s innovation in upholding the value of *collective work* for his following, an innovation Senghor proclaims to be an adaptation of orthodox Islam to the needs of a local populace.

^{lxxvi} [English Translation of Excerpt: “What Ahmadou Bamba, once again, wanted was to entrench Islam in black soil, by africanizing it; dare we say, by *negrifying* it.”] Original emphasis. Léopold Sédar Senghor, “Laïcité,” *Liberté I: négritude et Humanisme* [Liberty I: négritude and Humanism] (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1964), 423. [Original Document: *Allocution à l’Inauguration de la Mosquée de Touba. Réponse au Discours d’El Hadj Falilou M’Backé, Kalife des Mourides, 7 Juin 1963.*]

^{lxxvii} See, for example, Senghor’s 1967 speech at the University of Cairo in Egypt that forms the basis for *Les Fondements de l’africanité; ou, négritude et arabité*; in this speech, he engages in a brief analysis of the linguistic differences and comparative poetics of Arabic and African languages (pp. 75-97), highlights the importance of divine speech in both linguistic traditions, and concludes by asserting the complementarity of both, with the statement: “*la pensée arabe est un mouvement de transcendantalisation par l’abstraction; la pensée nègre un mouvement de transcendantalisation par le concret.*” (Léopold Sédar Senghor, “Les Fondements de l’africanité, ou négritude et arabisme,” Université du Caire, Février 1967” (Dakar: Centre de Documentation des Archives Nationales de la République du Sénégal, 1977), 101). See, also, for example, Senghor’s reference to the concepts of “*tadmin*” (“*l’image symbolique*”), “*durûbât*” (“*rythme arabe*”) and “*anghâm*” (“*la mélodie arabe*”) in a 1976 speech on Arab-African foreign relations in Dakar, to tactically underscore the confluence of negro-African and Arab cultures. Léopold Sédar Senghor, “Allocution de M. Le Président de la République du Sénégal, Coopération Arabo-Africaine, Conférence des Ministres des Affaires Etrangères, Dakar 19 Avril 1976” (Dakar: Centre de Documentation des Archives Nationales de la République du Sénégal, 1977): 5, 6, 6.

^{lxxviii} Given that Senghor (in *Les Fondements de l’africanité; ou, Négritude et arabité*) openly admits and regrets of his *ignorance* of the Arabic language, one can only presume that he was in no position to directly access or evaluate these alleged influences on native language literatures transcribed in Arabic script. (The beginnings of a study to this effect in Wolof, on Islamic influences in Wolof literature, can be found in Amar Samb, “Influence de l’Islam sur la littérature Wolof,” *Bulletin de l’IFAN XXX série B. no. 2*, 1968). Direct influences on Senghor’s work from an

Arabic literary tradition were filtered through French language translations. Such is ostensibly the case with his collection of poems *Chants pour Signare*, among whose sources of inspiration were *Chants d'amour et de guerre de l'Islam* translated from the Arabic and published by Franz Toussaint in 1942 (Bourrel, Jean-René. "Introduction [to *Nocturnes*]," *Léopold Sédar: Poésie complète*, ed. Pierre Brunel, 332 (Paris: CNRS Planète Libre, 2007). Spleth also suggests that Senghor's poetic representations of Sheba suggest the probable influence of Joseph-Charles Mardrus's 1918 translation into French of an Arabic poem entitled "The Queen of Sheba" (Janice Spleth, "The Arabic Constituents of Africanité: Senghor and the Queen of Sheba," *Research in African Literatures* 33, no. 4 (2002): 64).

^{lxxix} Léopold Sédar Senghor, "Vues sur l'Afrique Noire ou assimiler, non être assimilés" [Views of Black Africa or to assimilate, unassimilated], *Liberté I: négritude et Humanisme* [Liberty I: négritude and Humanism] (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1964), 67, 67, 45.

^{lxxx} *Ibid* 68.

^{lxxxi} My translation.

^{lxxxii} Singh Grewal, David. *Network Power: the social dynamics of globalization* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 11.

^{lxxxiii} *Ibid* 12.

^{lxxxiv} Although this is a recurrent theme in his writing, it is most famously articulated in his "Postface" to *Éthiopiennes* entitled "Comme les lamantins vont boire à la source" [As manatees drink from the source]. Léopold Sédar Senghor, *Léopold Sédar Senghor: Oeuvre Poétique*, 5th ed. (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1990), 160-173.

^{lxxxv} Henri Hubert and Marcel Mauss, *Sacrifice, its nature and function*, trans. W. D. Halls (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), 9.

^{lxxxvi}

It should perhaps be mentioned that the eulogy of the *guelwaar* also dominates Senghor's two collections of poetry *Chants d'ombre* and *Ethiopiennes*, but within a different (more strictly eulogistic) register; it is in *Hosties Noires* that the recurrent motif of the *guelwaar* is accompanied by a poetic drama of caste renunciation.

^{lxxxvii}

Cf. For example: "Par-delà Eros," "Le retour de l'Enfant Prodigue," "In Memoriam," "Message," "Le Totem," and "Que m'accompagnent kôras et balafong."

^{lxxxviii} The term *jèli* is a Bambara term. cf. Tal Tamari, "The Development of Caste Systems in West Africa," *The Journal of African History*, vol. 32, no. 2 (1991), p. 232). Kesteloot, cited in Pierre Brunel's footnotes to the poem, gives the term an "origine mandingue" (Cf. Pierre Brunel p. 120).

^{lxxxix} "Pardonne à ton neveu s'il a lancé sa lance pour les seize sons du sorong." Léopold Sédar Senghor, *Léopold Sédar Senghor: Oeuvre Poétique*, 5th ed. (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1990), 57. Léopold Sédar Senghor, *Léopold Sédar Senghor: The Collected Poetry*, trans. Melvin Dixon (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1991), 40.

^{xc} Léopold Sédar Senghor, *Léopold Sédar Senghor: The Collected Poetry*, trans. Melvin Dixon (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1991), 40.

^{xc1} Léopold Sédar Senghor, *Léopold Sédar Senghor: Oeuvre Poétique*, 5th ed. (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1990), 58.

^{xcii} Léopold Sédar Senghor, *Léopold Sédar Senghor: The Collected Poetry*, trans. Melvin Dixon (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1991), 40.

^{xciii} Léopold Sédar Senghor, *Léopold Sédar Senghor: Oeuvre Poétique*, 5th ed. (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1990), 83.

^{xciv} Léopold Sédar Senghor, *Léopold Sédar Senghor: The Collected Poetry*, trans. Melvin Dixon (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1991), 59-60.

^{xcv} Note that it is the birthright privilege of the *guelwaar* noble to have his genealogy praised through a family of orators, who are designated to remember and sing his lineage. For more on the distinction between castes specializing in epic poetry, and on families of orators attached to the transmission of family genealogies, Cf. Tal Tamari, "The Development of Caste Systems in West Africa," *The Journal of African History*, vol. 32, no. 2 (1991), pp. 225.

^{xcvi} "je forge ma bouche vaste retentissante pour l'écho et la trompette de liberation." Léopold Sédar Senghor, *Léopold Sédar Senghor: The Collected Poetry*, trans. Melvin Dixon (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1991), 42. Léopold Sédar Senghor, *Léopold Sédar Senghor: Oeuvre Poétique*, 5th ed. (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1990), 63.

^{xcvii} Léopold Sédar Senghor, *Léopold Sédar Senghor: Oeuvre Poétique*, 5th ed. (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1990), 63.

^{xcviii} Léopold Sédar Senghor, *Léopold Sédar Senghor: The Collected Poetry*, trans. Melvin Dixon (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1991), 43.

^{xcix} "Reconnais ton fils à l'authenticité de son regard, qui est celle de son coeur et de son lignage" Léopold Sédar Senghor, *Léopold Sédar Senghor: Oeuvre Poétique*, 5th ed. (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1990), 65.

^c *Ibid* 64. [English Translation]

^{ci} Léopold Sédar Senghor, *Léopold Sédar Senghor: Oeuvre Poétique*, 5th ed. (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1990), 85.

^{cii} Léopold Sédar Senghor, *Léopold Sédar Senghor: The Collected Poetry*, trans. Melvin Dixon (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1991), 61.

^{ciii} The original reads: "Je n'y comprends rien, dit l'Adjudant: un Sénégalais—et volontaire!" Léopold Sédar Senghor, *Léopold Sédar Senghor: Oeuvre Poétique*, 5th ed. (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1990), 70.

^{civ} "On lui a donné les vêtements de servitude, qu'il imaginait la robe candide du martyr./ O naïf! nativement naïf! et la chechia les godillots pour ses pieds libres domestiques." Léopold Sédar Senghor, *Léopold Sédar Senghor: The Collected Poetry*, trans. Melvin Dixon (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1991), 49. Emphasis Added.

^{cv} My interpretation of this as the fourteenth century battle of Trubang depends heavily on R.P. Gravrand's reading of the poem according to the Guelwaar oral traditions of Ngabou. Cf. R.P. Gravrand, "Le Gabou dans les Traditions Orales du Ngabou," *Ethiopiques: numéro spécial revue socialiste de culture négro-africaine*. (No. 28) Octobre 1981. http://www.refer.sn/ethiopiques/imprimer-article.php3?id_article=874 (Accessed online May 2009).

^{cvi} Léopold Sédar Senghor, *Léopold Sédar Senghor: Oeuvre Poétique*, 5th ed. (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1990), 34-35.

^{cvi} My translation, adapted from Dixon. Léopold Sédar Senghor, *Léopold Sédar Senghor: The Collected Poetry*, trans. Melvin Dixon (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1991), 20-21.

^{cvi} Léopold Sédar Senghor, *Léopold Sédar Senghor: Oeuvre Poétique*, 5th ed. (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1990), 35.

^{cix} My translation, adapted from Dixon. Léopold Sédar Senghor, *Léopold Sédar Senghor: The Collected Poetry*, trans. Melvin Dixon (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1991), 21. Emphasis added.

^{cx} Léopold Sédar Senghor, *Léopold Sédar Senghor: Oeuvre Poétique*, 5th ed. (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1990), 37-38.

^{cx} An alternative reading might suggest not a woman *on the point of ravishment* who surrenders herself to an overwhelming force but rather: a ravished woman who, *after the rape*, surrenders herself to love as an overwhelming force. (Dixon translates this line as: "Like a ravished woman surrendering herself to the cosmic force, To the Love that rouses the singing worlds" (*Ibid* 23). Pierre Brunel also reinterprets the line as: "*et l'abandonnement, comme [celui] d'une femme ravie à la grande force cosmique*" (Cf. Léopold Sédar Senghor, *Léopold Sédar Senghor: Poésie complète*, ed. Pierre Brunel (Paris: CNRS Planète Libre, 2007), 107). I contend that the poet's translation of force into choice, surrender into sacrifice, still holds regardless of the line's interpretation.

^{cxii} Embedded in a childhood game in which the speaker must choose between two playmates ("Isabelle" and "Soukeina"), the speaker's situation ("*dechirée entre deux mondes antagonistes*" [torn between two competing worlds]) commonly invites an allegorical reading to the poet's own position of a forced choice of allegiance (between Europe and Africa). Cf. Pierre Brunel's commentary in Léopold Sédar Senghor, *Léopold Sédar Senghor: Poésie complète*, ed. Pierre Brunel (Paris: CNRS Planète Libre, 2007), 98) and Lilyan Kesteloot, *Comprendre les poèmes de Léopold Sédar Senghor* (Issy les Moulineaux: Les Classiques Africains, 1986), 47.

^{cxiii} Senghor, Léopold Sédar. *Léopold Sédar Senghor: Oeuvre Poétique*, 5th ed. (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1990), 32.

^{cxiv} My translation.

^{cxv} Senghor, Léopold Sédar. *Léopold Sédar Senghor: Oeuvre Poétique*, 5th ed. (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1990), 39. My translation.

^{cxvi} My reading of Senghor here depends on the subordination of the bardic caste to the noble and "free born" (or uncasted)—though these hierarchies are admittedly far more complex, geographically diverse, and historically varied. For more on the extremely complex and nuanced West African distinctions of castes, Cf. Tal Tamari, "The Development of Caste Systems in West Africa," *The Journal of African History*, vol. 32, no. 2 (1991), 221-250. Tamari clarifies (p.221) that "the comparison of the terms used to designate caste people in the various West African languages shows a high frequency toward borrowing," though the Wolof term for the orator caste (p.233) is "*géwél*" (reflexively used by Sembene to define his cinematography), and the Bambara term is *jula/jali* (singular) or *jéli* (p. 232).

^{cxvii} David Singh Grewal, *Network power: the social dynamics of globalization* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 11.

^{cxviii} Léopold Sédar Senghor, "Le problème culturel en A.O.F." [The cultural problem in French West Africa], in *Liberté I: négritude et Humanisme* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1964), 19. [Original document: Conférence faite à la Chambre de Commerce de Dakar pour le Foyer France-Sénégal, 10 septembre 1937]

^{cxix} *Ibid*, emphasis added.

^{cxix} My translation, emphasis added.

^{cxxi}Original: “*les relations entre les langues négro-africaines et le français se sont traduites, essentiellement en rapports de force.*” Senghor, Léopold Sédar. “Allocution de M. Le Président de la République, Colloque sur les Relations entre les Langues négro-africaines et le Français, 24 Mars 1976.” Dakar: Centre de Documentation des Archives Nationales de la République du Sénégal, 1976, 2. Emphasis added.

^{cxxii}Original: “*On m’objectera que les langues indigènes ne sont ni assez riches ni assez belles. Je pourrais répondre qu’il n’importe guère, qu’elles demandent seulement à être maniées et fixées par des écrivains de talent.*” Senghor, Léopold Sédar. “Le problème culturel en A.O.F.” [The cultural problem in French West Africa], in *Liberté I: négritude et Humanisme* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1964), 19, emphasis added. [Original document: Conférence faite à la Chambre de Commerce de Dakar pour le Foyer France-Sénégal, 10 septembre 1937]

^{cxxiii}The Original: “*Je dirai encore que les linguistes aiment à citer des langues comme le mandingue pour leur prodigieuse faculté d’invention verbale. Non, ce ne sont pas les instruments qui manquent; j’attends seulement les talents que l’on aura cultivés.*” Léopold Sédar Senghor, “Le problème culturel en A.O.F.” [The cultural problem in French West Africa], *Liberté I: négritude et Humanisme* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1964), 20. [Original document: Conférence faite à la Chambre de Commerce de Dakar pour le Foyer France-Sénégal, 10 septembre 1937]

^{cxxiv}The original reads: “*Quel progrès! Les armes de domination, instruments de libération! J’y pensais encore en relisant, hier, les contes de Birago Diop, dont la phrase allie, si heureusement, la verte sobriété wolof à la légèreté française.*” Léopold Sédar Senghor, “L’Afrique s’interroge: subir ou choisir?” [“Africa asks itself: to submit or to choose?”] in *Liberté I: négritude et Humanisme* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1964), 88. [Original Publication: *Présence africaine*, numéro spécial 8-9, mars 1950].

^{cxxv}Léopold Sédar Senghor, “Allocution de M. Le Président de la République, Colloque sur les Relations entre les Langues négro-africaines et le Français, 24 Mars 1976,” (Dakar: Centre de Documentation des Archives Nationales de la République du Sénégal, 1976), 9.

^{cxxvi}Léopold Sédar Senghor, “Le Français langue de culture” [French: language of culture], *Liberté I: négritude et Humanisme* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1964), 363. [Original document published in: *Revue Esprit*, November 1962]

^{cxxvii}[Excerpt Translation: “the virtue of latin, french, cartesian values is derived precisely from their opposition to negro-african values.”] Léopold Sédar Senghor, “Le problème des langues vernaculaires ou le bilinguisme comme solution” [The problem of vernacular languages, or bilingualism as solution], *Liberté I: négritude et Humanisme* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1964), 229. [Original publication: *Hebdomadaire Afrique nouvelle*, 3 Janvier 1958]

^{cxxviii}Léopold Sédar Senghor, “De la liberté de l’âme ou éloge du métissage” [On the freedom of the spirit, or in praise of miscegenation], *Liberté I: négritude et Humanisme* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1964), 103 [Original Publication: *Liberté de l’Esprit*, Octobre 1950] Emphasis added.

^{cxxix}My translation, emphasis added.

^{xxx}David Singh Grewal, *Network power: the social dynamics of globalization* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 9.

^{xxxi}“*L’indépendance réelle, c’est d’abord l’indépendance de l’esprit, la liberté du choix.*” Léopold Sédar Senghor, “L’indépendance nominale terme ultime de notre évolution dans le cadre de la communauté: une interview exclusive de M. Senghor,” (Dakar: Centre de Documentation des Archives Nationales de la République du Sénégal, 1959), 3. [Full interview published in *Marchés Tropicaux et Méditerranéens*, Mai 1959.] Emphasis added.

^{xxxii}My translation of the original: “*l’indépendance dans l’isolement ne peut se faire sans danger mortel,*” Léopold Sédar Senghor, “Discours de L.S. Senghor, Président de l’Assemblée fédérale, Réception du General de Gaulle à l’Assemblée fédérale du Mali, 13 Décembre 1959,” (Dakar: Centre de Documentation des Archives Nationales de la République du Sénégal, 1959), 6.

^{xxxiii}My translation of the original: “*l’indépendance, dans le morcellement, ce n’est pas une indépendance réelle.*” Léopold Sédar Senghor, “Interventions du Président Senghor Au Congrès du P.F.A., Dakar, Août 1959,” (Dakar: Centre de Documentation des Archives Nationales de la République du Sénégal, 1959), 12.

^{xxxiv}*Ibid* 12.

^{xxxv}The Original reads: “*l’indépendance dans l’unité et non dans l’isolement.*”

^{xxxvi}“*Qu’est-ce que l’indépendance? La possibilité de choisir certes, mais c’est surtout la possibilité d’élever le niveau de culture et le niveau de vie des masses.*” Léopold Sédar Senghor, “Interventions du Président Senghor Au Congrès du P.F.A., Dakar, Août 1959,” (Dakar: Centre de Documentation des Archives Nationales de la République du Sénégal, 1959), 3-4.

^{xxxvii}Markovitz 68.

^{xxxviii}Mortimer, Robert A. “From Federalism to Francophonia: Senghor’s African Policy.” *African Studies Review* 15, no. 2 (September 1972): 283-306.

^{xxxix}*Ibid*, 4.

^{cxl} Translated Excerpt: “*La Francophonie reste encore la ‘défense et illustration’ du français; c’est aussi, grâce aux qualités de la langue française et à l’aide des grands pays francophones, la défense et illustration des autres langues et civilisations de l’ensemble.*” (My translation) Léopold Sédar Senghor, “Le Français et ses supports dialectaux. Communication de M. L.S. Senghor, VIIIe Biennale de la langue Française, Jersey, 18 Janvier 1980,” (Dakar: Centre de Documentation des Archives Nationales de la République du Sénégal, 1980), 2-3.

^{cxli} Translated Excerpt: “*À la fois langue d’aliénation et langue de la libération de nombreux peuples,*” he writes, “*le français doit, à présent, jouer un rôle important dans la diffusion des cultures du Tiers-Monde, dans la recherche de rapports nouveaux entre cultures nationales et développement endogène, entre développement socio-culturel et développement économique.*” (My translation) Léopold Sédar Senghor, “VIIe Conférence Franco-Africaine, Nice, 8-10 Mai 1980,” (Dakar: Centre de Documentation des Archives Nationales de la République du Sénégal, 1980), 12-13.

^{cxlii} Translated Excerpt: “*C’est dans cet esprit que le français, élément pilote ou porteur du plurilinguisme plutôt que rival crispé d’un anglais dominant, pourra se présenter aux yeux du monde comme une langue d’avenir.*” (My translation) *Ibid* 12.

^{cxliii} Léopold Sédar Senghor, “Rapport introductif par L.S. Senghor, Conseil National du Parti socialiste du Sénégal, Dakar, 19 Juillet 1980,” (Dakar: Centre de Documentation des Archives Nationales de la République du Sénégal, 1980), 5.

^{cxliv} Léopold Sédar Senghor, “Le Français et ses supports dialectaux. Communication de M. L.S. Senghor, VIIIe Biennale de la langue Française, Jersey, 18 Janvier 1980,” (Dakar: Centre de Documentation des Archives Nationales de la République du Sénégal, 1980), 4.

^{cxlv} Léopold Sédar Senghor, “Allocution de M. Le Président de la République, Colloque sur les Relations entre les Langues négro-africaines et le Français, 24 Mars 1976,” (Dakar: Centre de Documentation des Archives Nationales de la République du Sénégal, 1976), 10.

^{cxlvi} My translation.

^{cxlvii} Brunel 422.

^{cxlviii} Dixon 160.

^{cxlix} Léopold Sédar Senghor, *Léopold Sédar Senghor: Oeuvre Poétique*, 5th ed. (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1990), 113.

^{cl} Léopold Sédar Senghor, *Léopold Sédar Senghor: Oeuvre Poétique*, 5th ed. (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1990), 100. Translation from: Léopold Sédar Senghor, *Léopold Sédar Senghor: The Collected Poetry*, trans. Melvin Dixon (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1991), 82.

^{cli} My translation. The original reads: “*Il est aisé de faire comprendre aux Sénégalais qu’un étudiant nous coûte un demi million de francs CFA par an et que l’État ne saurait tolérer qu’[un étudiant] perde une année dans le caxaan [folly], comme la grève.*” Léopold Sédar Senghor, “Rapport introductif par L.S. Senghor, Secrétaire général, Conseil national du parti socialiste, 16 Juillet 1977,” (Dakar: Centre de Documentation des Archives Nationales de la République du Sénégal, 1977), 11.

^{clii} Léopold Sédar Senghor, “Rapport introductif par L.S. Senghor, Conseil National du Parti socialiste du Sénégal, Dakar, 19 Juillet 1980,” (Dakar: Centre de Documentation des Archives Nationales de la République du Sénégal, 1980), 25.

^{cliii} My translation. The original reads: “*C’est humain de commettre des erreurs, mais tiakhane de perseverer.*” Léopold Sédar Senghor, “Rapport introductif par L.S. Senghor, Conseil National du Parti socialiste du Sénégal, 26 Janvier 1980,” (Dakar: Centre de Documentation des Archives Nationales de la République du Sénégal, 1980), 6.

^{cliv} My translation. The original reads: “*Je n’oubliais jamais les journaux de l’Opposition. Je tâchais, seulement, en les lisant, de faire la distinction entre le bon grain et l’ivraie, entre le grain de mil et le khakham, c’est à dire entre les arguments pertinent et ceux qui appartiennent à la politique politicienne.*” Léopold Sédar Senghor, “Message à la Nation, 31 Décembre 1980” (Dakar: Centre de Documentation des Archives Nationales de la République du Sénégal, 1980), 2.

^{clv} My translation. These phrases in their original read: “*mercenaires de la plume*” and “*le jom sénégalais, le sens que nous avons de notre dignité.*” Léopold Sédar Senghor, “Rapport introductive par L.S. Senghor, Secrétaire général, Conseil national du parti socialiste, 16 Juillet 1977,” (Dakar: Centre de Documentation des Archives Nationales de la République du Sénégal, 1977), 17, 19.

^{clvi} Léopold Sédar Senghor, “Message à la Nation, 3 Avril 1980,” (Dakar: Centre de Documentation des Archives Nationales de la République du Sénégal, 1980), 13.

^{clvii} My translation: “Long live France! Long live Senegal! Long live the Nation!”

^{clviii} Léopold Sédar Senghor, “Message à la Nation, 31 Décembre 1980,” (Dakar: Centre de Documentation des Archives Nationales de la République du Sénégal, 1980), 18.

^{clix} Cf. Armah, Ba, and Pallister (on local languages)

^{clx} J. Reed and Clive Wakes remark Senghor's increasing use of African words in his poetry (Reed and Wakes cited in Klima 69).

^{clxi} For more notes: IFAN has *Kaddu* (Dakar) also at the National Archives in Dakar.

And also IFAN has *Ijjib volof/Syllabaire volof*, the Wolof syllabary, an effort to standardize in romanized form the transcription of Wolof. S. I. FEANF, Association des Étudiants Sénégalais en France, 1959. [4-M.R.//BRO//XIII]. For more on the position of Wolof in Senegal, cf. The following publication, also available at IFAN in Dakar: *L'expansion du Wolof au Sénégal*.

Dakar: Centre de Linguistique Appliquée de Dakar, 1966. [IFAN: 4-BRO-3838]

^{clxii} Cited in an obituary written by Seydou Nourou Ndiaye, owner of the publishing press through which *Kaddu* was printed: "Les gens oublient que le premier journal *Kaddu*, axé sur les langues nationales a été lancé dans les années 70 avec Pathé Diagne [and] Ousmane Sembène [...]."

Cf. Seydou Nourou Ndiaye, "Un Pionnier de la presse dans les langues nationales" ["A Pioneer of the Press in national languages], *Walfadjri/L'Aurore*, Mardi, 12 Juin 2007, p. 8 [Held at the National Archives in Dakar]. Ndiaye mentions that *Kaddu*, printed with Éditions Papyrus, was halted within the course of a decade, though the publisher sought to continue its efforts through another journal *Lasli/Njëlbeen*, which began to publish in Pulaar and Wolof. For more documentation on Sembene's foundation of *Kaddu* as the first vernacular language journal in Senegal, cf: *L'impact des journaux en langues nationales sur les populations Sénégalais*. Ed. Babacar Diop, Armand Faye, Yéro Sylla, Amadou T. Gueye. Dakar: Association des Chercheurs Sénégalais, 1990. For more on *Kaddu* in the context of state-sponsored efforts at vernacular language transcription, cf. Daff, Moussa. 1998. "L'aménagement linguistique et didactique de la coexistence du français et des langues nationales au Sénégal." *DiversCité Langues*. En ligne. Vol. III. Disponible à <http://www.uquebec.ca/diverscite> (Accessed: August 29, 2011)

^{clxiii} The term "opportunity cost" (borrowed from the field of economics) designates the *value of an alternative foregone* in the process of making a decision.

^{clxiv} "All third-world texts are necessarily, I want to argue, allegorical, and in a very specific way: they are to be read as what I will call *national allegories*, even when, or perhaps I should say, particularly when their forms develop out of predominantly western machineries of representation, such as the novel" (Frederic Jameson, "Third-World Literature in the Era of Multinational Capitalism," *Social Text*, No. 15 (Autumn, 1986), 69. For a rebuttal to Jameson's argument, see Aijaz Ahmad, "Jameson's Rhetoric of Otherness and the 'National Allegory'," *Social Text*, No. 17 (Autumn, 1987), 3-25.

^{clxv}

Frederic Jameson, "Third-World Literature in the Era of Multinational Capitalism," *Social Text*, No. 15 (Autumn, 1986), 80.

^{clxvi}

Cf. Doug Payne, "Instabilities: The Politics of Literary Form in Sembène's *The Last of the Empire*," in *Journal of Commonwealth and Postcolonial Studies*, (6:2), 1999 Fall, 106-25.

^{clxvii}

Willey suggests that this figure may correspond to the Senegalese historian (and political activist), Cheikh Anta Diop, an ardent critic to Senghor's politics and member of the opposition RDA (Cf. Ann Elizabeth Willey, "Language Use and Representation of the Senegalese Subject in the Written Work of Ousman Sembene," in *A Call to Action: The Films of Ousmane Sembène* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1996), 153. Diop's most renowned historical work, *Nations Nègres et Cultures*, laid claim to the Subsaharan African origins of Pharaonic Civilization.

^{clxviii}

In a revelatory footnote in the novel, Sembene clarifies that “Kad” (according to a Wolof proverb) is a “the tree that casts no shadow for kings.” It is the name given to “a tree that is leafless during the rainy season; so chiefs cannot sit in its shade to watch others work.” Ousmane Sembene, *The Last of the Empire*, translated by Adrian Adams (London: Heinemann, 1983) 129. The original reads: “*Le Kad est un arbre qui ne donne pas de feuilles pendant l’hivernage. Ainsi, en saison pluvieuse, les chefs ne peuvent pas s’abriter sous son feuillage pour regarder les autres travailler.*” Ousmane Sembène, *Le Dernier de L’Empire*, 2nd ed. (Paris: L’Harmattan, 1985), 234.

clxix

Anthère Nzabatsinda, *Normes linguistiques et écriture Africaine chez Ousmane Sembène*. (Toronto: Éditions du Gref, 1996), 45.

clxx

For more on the banning of *Ceddo* by Senghor, see Malcolm Coad’s “Ousmane Sembene and *Ceddo*,” in the *Index on Censorship*, 10: 4 (1981): 32-33. The film was formally censored due to the gemination of the Wolof title (the doubling of the “d,” an alleged misspelling), though it is now widely acknowledged that the restriction was due to political rather than linguistic differences (i.e., Senghor’s political deference to Senegal’s Muslim brotherhoods, and the unflattering representation of Islam in the film). Sembene refers to this controversy in several interviews with Rolf Richter, Ulrich Gregor, and Josie Fanon, republished in a collection edited by Annett Busch and Max Annas (*Sembene Ousmane: Interviews*. Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2008). It should perhaps be mentioned that Sembene began composing *Le Dernier de l’Empire* around the time of *Ceddo*’s censorship in 1976, and only published the novel after Senghor’s resignation in 1981.

clxxi

Personal interview with the Wolof Poet Séex Aliyu Ndaw, one of Sembene’s collaborators on the journal and a frequent contributor to *Kaddu* (Dakar, September 1, 2008).

clxxii

Sembene Ousmane. *Le Dernier de L’Empire*. 2nd ed. Paris: L’Harmattan, 1985.

clxxiii

Sembene Ousmane, *The Last of the Empire*, translated by Adrian Adams (London: Heinemann, 1983) 195.

clxxiv

This observation extends Elizabeth Willey’s study of diglossia in the novel (on the encoded use of Wolof proverbs as plot catalysts), though Willey instead emphasizes the mutual inscrutability between French and Wolof speakers in the text. (See Ann Elizabeth Willey, “Language Use and Representation of the Senegalese Subject in the Written Work of Ousman Sembene,” in *A Call to Action: The Films of Ousmane Sembène* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1996), 146.)

clxxv

“*L’opération... Ja... Ja... Zut. (Il se boulaît pour prononcer le mot JARON en wolof) Zut!... L’opération MEROU a commencé...*” The accompanying footnote reads: “*Les opérations militaires françaises Outre-Mer portent des noms de code de poissons ou de mammifères marins tropicaux.*” Ousmane Sembène, *Le Dernier de L’Empire*, 2nd ed. (Paris: L’Harmattan, 1985), 353.

clxxvi

Willey compares this to the English proverb, “The goose is cooked.” Ann Elizabeth Willey, “Language Use and Representation of the Senegalese Subject in the Written Work of Ousman Sembene,” in *A Call to Action: The Films of Ousmane Sembène* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1996), 152.

clxxvii Sembene Ousmane, *The Last of the Empire*, translated by Adrian Adams (London: Heinemann, 1983), 203. Ousmane Sembène, *Le Dernier de L’Empire*, 2nd ed. (Paris: L’Harmattan, 1985), 368.

clxxviii Ousmane Sembène, *Le Dernier de L’Empire*, 2nd ed. (Paris: L’Harmattan, 1985), 318

clxxix Sembene Ousmane, *The Last of the Empire*, translated by Adrian Adams (London: Heinemann, 1983), 175.
clxxx

Jean-Bédél Bokassa, the self-styled Emperor of the Central African Republic, crowned himself in lavish emulation of Napoleon in 1976; Bokassa ruled until his deposition in a French military backed coup, after which he took sanctuary in the Ivory Coast, before ultimately settling in France. Sembene Ousmane, *The Last of the Empire*, translated by Adrian Adams (London: Heinemann, 1983), 196. The original reads: *Il n'y a aucune mesure entre le philosophe, le grand homme qu'est Léon Mignane, et l'ex-empereur Bokassa!*" Ousmane Sembène, *Le Dernier de L'Empire*, 2nd ed. (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1985), 355.

clxxxi

Ousmane Sembène, *Le Dernier de L'Empire*, 2nd ed. (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1985), 292, emphasis added. The translation: "What are we, the bastards of independence? [...] We are the state." Sembene Ousmane, *The Last of the Empire*, translated by Adrian Adams (London: Heinemann, 1983), 161.

clxxxii

Senghor most famously asserts this in an essay entitled "*Comme les lamantins vont boire à la source*" ("As manatees will drink from their source"), an appendage to his poetic collection entitled *Ethiopiennes*. Cf. Léopold Sédar Senghor, *Léopold Sédar Senghor: Oeuvre Poétique*, 5th ed. (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1990), 160-173.

clxxxiii

In a discussion of Eisenstein's influence in his work, Sembene claims (in language that is curiously reminiscent of Senghor's): "The rhythm montage is of great importance to Africans. It encourages us to use it in order to express our great sensitivity to rhythm." Interview with Rolf Richter, translated by Gabi Schneider, reprinted in Annett Busch and Max Annas, eds. *Ousmane Sembène: Interviews* (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2008), 104. Originally publication: *Film und Fernsehen*, vol. 6, no.2, 1978.)

clxxxiv

Though this spirit of opposition pervades his work, he presents the contrast most succinctly in a 1992 interview with Françoise Pfaff, translated from the French by Anna Schrade and reprinted in Annett Busch and Max Annas, eds. *Ousmane Sembène: Interviews* (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2008), 153-4: "There are different kinds of artists: There are those who celebrate the ruling power and there are those who criticize it. The one who is in power needs the artist to comfort him and to dazzle his people. He doesn't like those who are disturbing and often gives them a rough time. By the way, one can notice that whenever the established power starts to oppress an artist, the people lose their liberty too. The people also need artists. But why do these people, who don't even have the power to buy a blackboard for their schools, need artists? And in whose name is a Sembène boasting about the right to speak in the name of his people? These are the questions that I ask myself, but I don't try to find the answer."

clxxxv

Sembène Ousmane, *L'Harmattan*. Paris: Présence Africaine, 1980. [Original publication: 1964.]

clxxxvi My translation.

clxxxvii

Busch 175. Sembene has stated that he composed first in Wolof before translating his written work into French (Cf. Annett Busch and Max Annas, eds. *Ousmane Sembène: Interviews* (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2008), 183). Sembene's major written works were all published in Paris—the only exception to this are publications in the local Wolof journal (*Kaddu*), which he founded and contributed to under the penname, *Ceddo*.

clxxxviii

Hennebelle Interview (1971). Originally printed in *Les Lettres Françaises*, no. 1404 (1971). Translated from the French by Julien Enoka-Ayemba and reprinted in Annett Busch and Max Annas, eds. *Ousmane Sembène: Interviews* (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2008), 18-19.

clxxxix

In an interview in 1969, Sembene claims: "Wolof is spoken by 85 percent of the Senegalese population. It could well have been set up in national language instead of in French." (Hennebelle interview reprinted in Busch, 14). Years later, however, he uses not the hypothetical, but the descriptive: "The people's only form of self-expression is in the national language: Wolof" (Interview with Nouredine Ghali (1976), Translated by John D.H. Downing, reprinted Annett Busch and Max Annas, eds. *Ousmane Sembène: Interviews* (Jackson: University of

Mississippi Press, 2008), 74. He acknowledges, however, later: "Non-Wolof populations do not like the idea of erecting Wolof as the universal language, but the language is spoken by at least 80 percent of Senegalese. So the result is that we keep locking ourselves in the European logic, preferring the colonial language. I don't understand why." (Sembene in Busch, 183)

CXC

Interview with Rolf Richter, 1978. Translated from the German by Gabi Schneider. From *Film und Fernsehen*, vol. 6, no.2 (1978), reprinted in Annett Busch and Max Annas, eds. *Ousmane Sembène: Interviews* (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2008), 100-101.

CXci

Interview with Pierre Haffner, 1977. Translated from the French by Anna Rimpl and Annett Busch, reprinted in Annett Busch and Max Annas, eds. *Ousmane Sembène: Interviews* (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2008), 83. Originally published in *Recherche, Pédagogie et Culture*, no. 37 (1978).

CXCii

Interview with Françoise Pfaff (1992). Translated from the French by Anna Schrade, in Annett Busch and Max Annas, eds. *Ousmane Sembène: Interviews* (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2008), 154.

CXCiii See, for example: Françoise Pfaff, *The Cinema of Sembène Ousmane* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1984; Mbye B. Cham, "Islam in Senegalese Literature and Film." In *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, Vol. 55, No. 4, (1985), pp. 447-464; and Baum, Robert. "Tradition and resistance in Ousmane Sembene's films *Emitai* and *Ceddo*." In *Black and White in Color: African History on Screen*, edited by Vivian Bickford-Smith and Richard Mendelsohn. Athens: Ohio University Press, 2007; and Diouf, Mamadou. "History and Actuality in Ousmane Sembène's *Ceddo* and Djibril Diop Mambety's *Hyenas*." In *African Experiences of Cinema*, edited by Imruh Bakari and Mbye B. Cham. London: British Film Institute, 1996.

CXCiv Although the figure of the griot in Sembene's literature has been of sustained critical interest (cf. Pfaff, Nzabitsinda, Cham), the connection between Sembene's writing on *griotage*, the circular theatrical orientation of the *guelwel*/griot, and cinematographic patterns in *Ceddo* has not yet been made. For more on griotage in Sembene see: Mbye Cham, "Oral Traditions, Literature, and Cinema in Africa" in (pp. 295-312) Stam, Robert (ed.); Raengo, Alessandra (ed.), *Literature and Film: A Guide to the Theory and Practice of Film Adaptation* (Malden: Blackwell, 2005); Manthia Diawara, "Popular Culture and Oral Traditions in African Film," in *African Experiences of Cinema*. Edited by Imruh Bakari and Mbye B. Cham. London: British Film Institute, 1996; Anthère Nzabatsinda, "Le Griot dans le récit d'Ousmane Sembène: Entre la rupture et la continuité d'une représentation" In *Etudes Françaises*, (31:1), 1995 Summer, 51-60; and Françoise Pfaff, *The Cinema of Sembène Ousmane*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1984.

CXCV

Sembene's definition of the term *Ceddo* follows "[A] Pulaar word that designates in one way or another those who resist slavery, [it] means those who 'conserve the tradition' The Ceddo are 'the people of refusal' One finds the spirit of the Ceddo just as much among Muslims as Catholics" (It should also perhaps be mentioned that this was his penname in the journal *Kaddu*, according to his colleague on the journal, the poet Cheikh Aliou Ndao, in a personal interview, September 1, 2008) Interview with Josie Fanon, translated from the French by Annett Busch Originally published in *Demain l'Afrique*, no. 32 (1979), reprinted in Annett Busch and Max Annas, eds. *Ousmane Sembène Interviews* (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2008), 113-4 According to Rosen "In the precolonial period, the word *ceddo* designated crown slaves of special distinction whose support might be necessary to the power of the King, but it has since taken on a range of meanings Sembene himself emphasizes that the term, which is used in several Senegalese languages, signifies those who cling to the old ways and resist the onslaught of the foreign, especially Islam In the film, the Ceddo are the common people, who remain true to the traditional fetish religion against the increasingly successful converting zeal of the Muslims" (Philip Rosen, "Making a Nation in Sembène's *Ceddo*" *Quarterly Review of Film and Video* Volume 13 (1991, 1-3), 151)

CXCVi

This is more extensively examined in an article by Brenda Berrian, "Manu Dibango and *Ceddo*'s Transatlantic Soundscape," in *Focus on African Films*. Ed. Françoise Pfaff. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004.

CXCVii Mowitt, John. *Re-Takes: Postcoloniality and Foreign Film Languages*. Minneapolis, MN; U of Minnesota Press, 2005, 108-118.

CXCViii

Philip Rosen, "Making a Nation in Sembene's *Ceddo*." *Quarterly Review of Film and Video*. Volume 13 (1991), 155.

CXCix

For more on the traditional functions of the griot, see Thomas Hale's "The Social Functions of Griots and Griottes in the Sahel and Savanna Regions of West Africa." In *Camel Tracks: Critical Perspectives on Sahelian Literature*, edited by Debra Boyd-Buggs and Joyce Hope Scott. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2003.

cc Ousmane Sembène, *Le Dernier de L'Empire*, 2nd ed. (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1985), 271.

cci

My analysis builds on observations by Diawara, Pfaff, and Rosen. Diawara (writing on *Ceddo*) acknowledges: "In order to represent the discursive space, the director creates a mise en scène in which the griot occupies the centre of the circle formed by the king's court, the imam, the missionary, and the Ceddoes. [...] It is as if the camera has taken the griot's position so as to reveal the directions of speech." (Manthia Diawara, "Popular Culture and Oral Traditions in African Film," in *African Experiences of Cinema*, edited by Imruh Bakari and Mbye B. Cham, (London: British Film Institute, 1996), 21). Diawara considers Sembène's use of close-ups as a didactic intervention and compares this to the work of the oral storyteller. Pfaff, in contrast, considers the linearity of Sembène's narratives as the director's emulation of *griotage* (Françoise Pfaff, *The Cinema of Sembène Ousmane*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1984). In his meticulous dissection of cinematography in *Ceddo*, Rosen (also noting the possible "denormalization of historically dominant Western editing patterns" in *Ceddo*) considers how "the spatial construction of the [opening] scene emphasizes the play of power among addressers, addressees, and bystanding witnesses to the verbal and symbolic actions inside the enclosure" in "a theatricalization of discourse that is associated with strong markers of African tradition" (Philip Rosen, "Making a Nation in Sembène's *Ceddo*," *Quarterly Review of Film and Video*, (Volume 13. 1991), 157, 156, 157). Rosen considers these palaver scenes also according to unconventional patterns, along a perimetry and center, but spatially reads this scene as working within a three point system, based on the arrangement of characters around a center; this unequal concentration of characters on the perimeter of a 360 degree space does not (I believe) disprove my point.

ccii

According to Rosen, the *samp* is a "traditional challenge stick," "which gives [plaintiffs] the opportunity to articulate their grievances" (Philip Rosen, "Making a Nation in Sembène's *Ceddo*," *Quarterly Review of Film and Video*, (Volume 13. 1991), 151).

cciii

See for example: Robert Baum, "Tradition and resistance in Ousmane Sembène's films *Emitai* and *Ceddo*," in *Black and White in Color: African History on Screen*, edited by Vivian Bickford-Smith and Richard Mendelsohn (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2007); David Murphy "Fighting for the Homeland? The Second World War in the Films of Ousmane Sembène," in *L'Esprit Créateur*, Vol. 47, No. 1 (2007), 56–67; Njeri Ngugi, "Presenting and (Mis)representing History in Fiction Film: Sembène's "Camp de Thiaroye" and Attenborough's "Cry Freedom"," in *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, Vol. 16, No. 1, Special Issue Focusing on the Media in and about Africa (Jun., 2003), 57-68; Jonathan A. Peters, "Aesthetics and Ideology in African Film: Ousmane Sembène's *Emitai*," in *African Literature in Its Social and Political Dimensions*, edited by Eileen Julien et.al (Washington, DC: Three Continents, 1986), 71-72; and Femi Okiremuete Shaka, "Vichy Dakar and the Other Story of French Colonial Stewardship in Africa: A Critical Reading of Ousmane Sembène and Thierno Faty Sow's "Camp de Thiaroye"" in *Research in African Literatures*, Vol. 26, No. 3, African Cinema (Autumn, 1995), 67-77.

cciv

The monument features two generic figures marching towards victory: a Senegalese Tirailleur ("Demba") advancing slightly before his French counterpart ("Dupont"), who rests his hand on Demba's shoulder. A brief history of the monument can be found in: Ferdinand De Jong, "Recycling Recognition: The Monument as *Objet Trouvé* of the Postcolony," in *Journal of Material Culture*, 2008. Vol. 13 (2): 207.

ccv Léopold Sédar Senghor, *Léopold Sédar Senghor: Oeuvre Poétique*, 5th ed. (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1990), 74.

ccvi Léopold Sédar Senghor, *Léopold Sédar Senghor: The Collected Poetry*, trans. Melvin Dixon (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1991), 53.

ccvii This effectively reads as a poetic inversion of the paradox in Senghor's "Désespoir d'un volontier libre" (see p. 19 of Dissertation Chapter II).

ccviii

It should perhaps be mentioned that the designation *Tirailleurs Sénégalais* ("Senegalese Sharpshooters") was a general designation for regional conscripts from French West Africa.

ccix Léopold Sédar Senghor, *Léopold Sédar Senghor: Oeuvre Poétique*, 5th ed. (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1990), 57.

ccx Léopold Sédar Senghor, *Léopold Sédar Senghor: The Collected Poetry*, trans. Melvin Dixon (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1991), 68.

ccxi

The lyrics of the Petainist anthem evoked by this speech present the tropes of salvation and rebirth: "Une flamme sacrée/ monte du sol natal [...] Maréchal, nous voilà ! Devant toi, le sauveur de la France [...] la Patrie renaîtra, ! Maréchal, Maréchal, nous voilà !/ [...] tu sauves la Patrie/une seconde fois!" ["A sacred flame rises from the land of our birth! *Maréchal*, here we are! Before you, the savior of France! ... The fatherland will be reborn, *Maréchal*, here we are! You save the fatherland a second time!"]

ccxii

It should perhaps be mentioned that Sembene here celebrates less the ascendancy of the English language than its challenge to the status of French as an acrolect.

ccxiii

Or semiliterate: in the text, he demonstrates signs of literacy (demanding proof from Koranic suras on the giving of alms), and in the film version, when asked to sign a document (ceding his power of attorney), he asks whether he it should be done in Arabic or in French.

ccxiv

Sembène Ousmane, *Le mandat précédé de Véhi Ciosane* (Paris: Présence Africaine, 1966), 146. Sembene Ousmane, *The Money Order with White Genesis*, translated by Clive Wake (London: Heinemann Press, 1980), 102.

ccxv Sembène Ousmane, *Le mandat précédé de Véhi Ciosane* (Paris: Présence Africaine, 1966), 163. Sembene Ousmane, *The Money Order with White Genesis*, translated by Clive Wake (London: Heinemann Press, 1980), 116.

ccxvi

Ousmane Sembene, *Xala* (Paris: Présence Africaine, 1973), 49.

ccxvii Josef Gugler and Oumar Cherif Diop, "Ousmane Sembene's 'Xala': The Novel, the Film, and Their Audiences," in *Research in African Literatures*, Vol. 29, No. 2 (Summer, 1998), 152.

ccxviii Ousmane Sembène, *Xala* (Paris: Présence Africaine, 1974), 142. Ousmane Sembene, *Xala*, translated by Clive Wake (London: Heinemann, 1976), 95.

ccxix Ibid.

^{ccx} I am indebted to Professor Souleymane Faye (of the Center for Applied Linguistics in Dakar, at the University of Cheikh Anta Diop) for bringing to my attention this historical status of the Wolof language (as a vernacular medium, with a continually growing population of non-native speakers) during the course of my Wolof language studies with him in the summer of 2008. Faye notes, as evidence of the early use of Wolof interpreters by European colonists (lending relative prestige to Wolof as a vernacular language within the region), that the earliest reference books compiled by Europeans of foliage native to the region predominantly identify objects in *Wolof* terms (as opposed to in *Sereer*, *Fulani*, *Diola*, or other alternatives). Further suggesting the comparability of Malay language use in Indonesia to that of Wolof in Senegal is the observation that among Senegal's population and approximately 20 native languages, Wolof is "understood by about 70% of the population," "is spoken by groups over the entire country and could be seen as the language of national unity" (Cf. Efurosibina Adegbiya, *Language Attitudes in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Sociolinguistic Overview* Clevedon, Avon: Longdunn Press, 1994 p. 16). This is despite the fact that French was made "the official language" throughout the colonial and post-colonial order, though it "is spoken only by about 20% of the population" (Adegbiya p. 16). The following also suggests the degree to which Wolof remains in ascendance: "the percentage population of [native] speakers of languages within the country in 1971, which must have changed considerably since then, was given as follows: Wolof 37.55%, Fulani, 21.38%, Serer 19.52%, Diola 10.40%, Mandingo, 6.49%, Sarakole 2.13%, Arabic (Moors) 1.58%, and other African 0.95%. About 45% speak Wolof as a second language and about 83% of the overall population speak it as a first or second language (cf. Alexandre, 1971: 659; Diop, 1992)" (p. 16). For more on the legacy of French as a prestige language in the region, cf. pp. 18, 30.

^{ccxi} Hendrik Maier, "From Heteroglossia to Polyglossia: The Creation of Malay and the Dutch East Indies," *Indonesia*, vol. 56 (1993), 37-65.

^{ccxii} Laffan 2003: 180.

^{ccxiii} Hamka, "Pengaruh Huruf Atas Bahasa dan Bangsa," *Hikmah*, no. 7, February 16, 1952, p. 18-20.

^{ccxiv} Poeradisastra, Farchad, "Memang, Kebenaran Harus Tetap Disampaikan," in *Hamka di mata hati umat*, eds. Nasir Tamara, Buntaran Sanusi, and Vincent Djauhari (Jakarta: Sinar Harapan, 1983), p. 158. "Kalau semata-mata mau mencari pengarang yang lebih hebat darinya sangatlah banyak. Demikian juga, kalau mau mencari ulama yang lebih mafhum, di mana-mana ada. Ataupun mau mencari yang pengetahuan umumnya lebih luas, banyak tersedia. Namun mencari ke semuanya itu dalam diri satu orang—walaupun cuma kelas menengah—rasanya cuma pada diri Hamka sendiri."

^{ccxv} Hoffman 1979: 63.

^{ccxvi} On the position of the Dutch language as a new acrolect (or, in Javanese, a new *kromo*) overlaid upon extant

Javanese language levels (*taalstoorten*), cf. Hoffman 1979: pp. 65-6.

^{ccxxvii} For more on the language situation within early Dutch trading posts (concentrated in the port areas of Batavia and Ambon, cf. Hoffman 1979: 66-71). Hoffman traces the early and unsuccessful experiments in Dutch language pedagogy in missionary schools, leading to the eventual use of a Malay alternative (brought to Ambon and Batavia by merchants from Sumatra); beyond these failed (and relatively passive) experiments in early Dutch pedagogy, Malay became commonly used not only for Dutch mercantile and administrative affairs in Batavia and Ambon, but also became emblematic for the foundations of a common indigenous church. The early eighteenth century witnessed the first bible translation into romanized Malay with the Leydekker-Werndly translation, a text which became an early standard for local Christian education (after the 1730s), and which represented (in the minds of the translators) “the symbiotic propagation of Christian education in missionary schools and the Malay language” (Hoffman 1979: 71). This interpretation of a symbiosis between Malay and the Christian faith is, effectively, the inverse of Hamka’s perspective generations later—according to which the Arabic aspects of Malay, the Arabic derivation of the Malay language, and the extensive use of Malay in the Indonesian archipelago, was a sign of Islam’s entrenched and ascendant influence in Indonesia.

^{ccxxviii} Colonial Minister Jean Chrétien Baud complains of this general reversion to “patois” Malay (aka “Low Malay”) in a letter to his superiors (dating from 1842) (cf. Hoffman 1979: 74).

^{ccxxix} Cf. Anthony H. Johns, “Qur’anic exegesis in the Malay-Indonesian World: an Introductory Survey,” in Abdullah Saeed (ed.) *Approaches to the Qur’an in Contemporary Indonesia*, (London: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 17. In the absence of a more systematic analysis, the cross-section of seventeenth to mid-nineteenth century manuscripts reprinted in *Illuminations* suggests the digraphic (and, at times, trigraphic) transcription practices that accompanied contractual relations between the Dutch and their associates. (Sample manuscript treaties are reproduced from Central Java (digraphic Javanese and Dutch), West Java (trigraphic Javanese, Arabic-script Malay, and Dutch), and Sumatra, Madura, and Southern Sulawesi (digraphic Dutch and Arabic-script Malay). Cf. Ann Kumar and John McGlynn (eds.), *Illuminations: the writing traditions of Indonesia featuring manuscripts from the National Library of Indonesia*, (New York: Weatherhill, 1996): (97, 50, 52, 53, 216). In the case of Southern Sulawesi, as exemplified by official versions of the 17th century Bungaya treaty, both Dutch and Arabic script were employed, though the treaty was informally retranscribed into old Makassarese script (p. 216). Hoffman suggests that, even with the Javanese, *dienst maleisch* or service Malay was most commonly used in Diplomatic relations through the 18th century, though documents written in Javanese were also accepted by the Dutch (Hoffman 1979: 723). The use of transcribed Javanese for diplomatic purposes declined under Governor-General Rochussen (1845-51), who ordered the use of Malay over local vernaculars with local rulers (Hoffman 1979: 76).

^{ccxxx} Hadler 2000: 319.

^{ccxxxi} Sir Stamford Raffles (appointed Lieutenant Governor of Java during the British interregnum of the Indies, upon the Napoleonic invasion of Holland) was reportedly aghast at the general ignorance among Dutch officials of indigenous languages, and (ineffectively) mandated a Javanese language requirement for administrative officials during the British interregnum.

^{ccxxxii} Hadler 2000: 301, 309.

^{ccxxxiii} Hadler 2000: 306.

^{ccxxxiv} The colonial Dutch archives presented by Hoffman (1979: 239-42) suggest a clear parallel to colonial developments in French West Africa; the perceived problem of relying on local class of interpreters “who often had an interest in disguising the truth” launched a series of debates on the systemic training of *Bestuur* administrators for positions in the Dutch East Indies (Hoffman 1979: 239-42). It should perhaps also be noted that, *despite the widespread use of Chinese merchants as interpreters, the Dutch concluded that the Chinese language was impossible to romanize, and thus excluded it from consideration as an administrative language* (Hadler 2000: 319). Hadler and Hoffman clarify that it was British interest in the Indies language question (Raffles, Crawford, and Marsden during the British interregnum) that intensified Dutch interest in questions of an administrative language and uniform orthography (for record keeping).

^{ccxxxv} Cf. Hoffman 1979: 77.

^{ccxxxvi} Hoffman’s synopsis of Pijnappel [BKI, 7, 1860], cf. Hoffman 1979: 77. This recommendation was also expressed in 1876 by J.R.P.F. Gonggrijp, a missionary society teacher and lecturer who trained candidate officials for in the Indies, and also advocated the transition to Latin type for Malay.

^{ccxxxvii} Hadler 2000: 303.

^{ccxxxviii} Nancy Florida’s work on philological trends in the wake of the Diponegoro Wars (or Java Wars) in the early nineteenth century also traces the colonial de-emphasis on Arabic-Islamic elements *within Javanese literature*. Florida demonstrates that, despite these efforts at marginalization, these elements were sustained in Javanese court

literature throughout the nineteenth century. (Cf. Nancy Florida, "Writing Traditions in Colonial Java: The Question of Islam," in S.C. Humphreys, ed. *Cultures of Scholarship*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997, pp. 187-217.)

^{ccxxxix} Holle [1860] cited in Steenbrink 1993: 79.

^{ccxi} Cf. Steenbrink 1993: 78. A internal memo of protest against this imposition of a newly developed, Javanized Sundanese script (written by the Dutch Assistant Resident of Rankasbitung, and circulated within the colonial administration) illustrates the prevalence of Arabic script use among literate West Javanese during this period: the memo sympathetically notes that the West Javanese were forced to master "[t]he Arabic script in order to be able to read the Koran and the Dutch script in order to be appointed to a government position. *Over against the few people familiar with the Javanese script are hundreds who are familiar with the Arabic script*" (c. 1860 cited in Steenbrink 1993:79, emphasis added).

^{ccxli} Holle translated and cited Steenbrink 1992: 86.

^{ccxlii} This is Harry Benda's paraphrase of Snouck's ideas on "Association." See Harry Benda, *The crescent and the rising sun: Indonesian Islam under the Japanese occupation, 1942-1945* (The Hague: W. van Hoeve, 1958): 27.

^{ccxliii} Raffles cited in Steenbrink 1992: 74.

^{ccxliv} In this respect, Snouck countered Dutch fears of the impact of ottoman pan-islamism in the Indies by concluding that "however dangerous a vague ideology," pan-Islamism was "not a political reality identifiable with the [Ottoman] Caliphate," which lacked the "ecclesiastic powers of dictation in matters of dogma" (Benda 1958: 21). By his estimation, pan-Islam was instead "a powerless symbol of the nonexistent unity of all Muslims," of minimal relevance to the mass adherents of the syncretic "*abangan* religion of [the] indonesian peasant," but a potential source of local agitation given the "expanding influence of [a more scripturalist] santri civilization" in the archipelago (Benda 1958: 21, 23, 23).

^{ccxlv} Benda 1958: 23.

^{ccxlvii} This meant the lifting of earlier limitations for the Hajj pilgrimage, curbing missionary work in the Indies (to avoid alienating Islamic communities), and convincing clerical circles that of their continued (tolerance) on condition of their uninvolvement with politics and political propaganda (Benda 1958: 24-25)

^{ccxlviii} Benda (among others) criticise Snouck for what they claim to be the exaggerated separation of the political and religious aspects of Islam, i.e., for overlooking the universalizing vision of local adherents to the faith (cf. Benda 1958: 29-31).

^{ccxlviii} Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje [1915] cited in Laffan 2003: 90.

^{ccxlix} Snouck's notion of a spiritual annexation, a political (but not religious) annexation of the colonies to the Netherlands, also coincides with the development of the "ethical policy" in Holland in 1889, promoted by a liberal, parliamentary leadership in Holland (van Deventer) speaking of a "Debt of Honor" (*Een Eereschuld*), advocating reparations to the Indonesians in the form of socio-economic welfare (education and economic measures and the protection of native rights. It should perhaps also be mentioned that "Association" in the French case replaced a less workable alternative, known as a politics of "Assimilation" (Cf. Conklin).

^{cccl} On the early influence of late nineteenth century Dutch policies (seen largely as a successful role model) for the French colonies, see Raymond Betts *Assimilation and Association in French Colonial Theory 1890-1914* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006 [New York: Columbia University Press (First Edition) 1960]): 35-38. On the French development of a politics of "Association" (a formulation Betts largely attributes to Jules Harmand, who popularized this term between 1890-1910), see Betts, pp. 120-132. For additional scholarship on "Association" the Dutch colonial context, see Elsbeth Locher-Scholten, "Association in Theory and Practice: the composition of the Regency Council (ca. 1910-1920)," in *Between People and Statistics: Essays in Modern Indonesian History*, eds. Francien van Anroij and Dirk H.A. Kolff (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1979): 209-211. Whether the Dutch or the French were first to coin the term ("Association"), the correlative rise of a policy by this designation (to resolve a comparable problem, the political integration of the colonies to the metropole) is indisputable.

^{cccli} Cf. Mr. 22 May 1894, no. 468, cited in Laffan 2003: 145.

^{ccclii} Hadler's examination of schoolbooks in the Sumatranese regions where Van Ophuijsen was Director of Education (after the late 1840s) suggests that he advocated and oversaw the increased use of roman script over Arabic script by Sumatranese schoolchildren (Hadler 2000: 296).

^{cccliii} For examples of a Chinese minority backlash to Van Ophuijsen Malay, cf. H.M.J. Maier, "From Heteroglossia to Polyglossia: The Creation of Malay and Dutch in the Indies," *Indonesia*, vol. 56, (October 1993), p. 57. The contributions of the Chinese minority press to Indonesian nationalist print-culture are treated more extensively in a following chapter on Pramoedya Ananta Toer, who championed a revisionist Indonesian literary history in which the minority Chinese were characterized as proto-nationalist, literary pioneers. For more on their contribution, cf.

Ahmat B. Adam, *The Vernacular Press and the Emergence of Modern Indonesian Consciousness (1855-1913)*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Studies on Southeast Asia, 1995), pp. 59-78, and Sumit K. Mandal, "'Strangers who are not Foreign': Pramoedya's Disturbing Language on the Chinese of Indonesia," in *Pramoedya Ananta Toer: The Chinese in Indonesia, A translation of Hoakiau di Indonesia*, (Singapore: Select Publishing, 2007), pp. 35-54.

^{ccliv} Anderson 1991: 45.

^{cclv} The public, colonial enstatement of this standard came with the 1902 circular to residents by J.H. Abendanon (Director of Education) according to which the only spelling to be used (in the Dutch-mandated school system) would be Van Ophuijsen's. In 1905, J.E. Jasper (whose recommendations catalyzed the establishment of *Balai Pustaka*) suggested that Javanese students be supplied with romanized books rather than a "hostile" Arabic or obsolete Javanese (Jedamski 1992: 24 cited in Laffan 2003: 145). Compared to his earlier anxieties in 1890 on the the preponderance of religious schooling, Snouck noted with satisfaction in 1911 the decline of religious education relative to secular, westernized education ("Rapport over de Mohammadansche godsdienstige rechtspraak" in *La politique musulmane de la Hollande 1911*, Verspreide Geschriften Volume 4, cited in Benda 1958: 27). In the early 1890s (prior to these trends in education), only 14% of students received a Dutch-sponsored education (1892-3). In 1892, 53,000 natives were enrolled in government funded educational institutions, far outnumbered by enrollment numbers (326,334 in 1893) for Qur'anic and Arabic education in *pesantren* and *langgar* (in Java, Madura, and the outer islands) (Adam 1995: 81, 83).

^{cclvi} Hoffman 1979: 87. Of this orthography, Snouck wrote: "because that spelling has originated through our influence, it is directly or indirectly propagated alone through our education, and the minority who avail themselves of it belong to that section of native society that most associates with Europeans." (Snouck to Director of Education, Batavia, October 30, 1894, in *Ambtelijke Adviezen*, cited in Hoffman 1979: 88).

^{cclvii} Van Ophuijsen had long studied the Minang dialect during his posting to Sumatra, and his later writing on Malay grammar displays his use of Minang poetry and proverbs to prove grammatical points (Hadler 2000: 327). Ophuijsen's early work on orthography was followed by an authoritative grammar in 1910 (H.M.J. Maier, "From Heteroglossia to Polyglossia: The Creation of Malay and Dutch in the Indies," (*Indonesia*, volume 56, October 1993): 55).

^{cclviii} Like Senegal's premier research institute, *L'Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire* [The Foundational Institute of Black Africa], nationalized from the colonial *Institut Français d'Afrique Noire* [French Institute of Black Africa], the Dutch colonial bureau for popular literature (*Balai Pustaka*) was nationalized in the post-independence context as the publishing house of the Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture. The foundational (and linguistic) apparatus of public, academic print culture in both cases evolved from a colonial era print infrastructure for government-funded research and publication.

^{cclix} Hadler 2000: 294, 302.

^{cclx} Hadler 2000: 294.

^{cclxi} Insert article on Abdoel Moeis about this.

^{cclxii} Cf. Hamka, *Kenang-Kenangan Hidup II [Life Memoirs II]*, Third Edition, Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1974 [(First Edition Printed 1951)], on his consumption of Arabic literature, pp. 78, 88. "*Selain dari kekayaan pantun, seloka, pidato adat, pepatah dan petitiyah yang dipandangnya sebagai sumber kekuatan bahasa yang dipakainya ada lagi segi lain yang dia punyai, yaitu sastra Arab. Jika pengarang2 atau wartawan2 lain dimasa itu mengambil ilham dari kesusastraan Barat, terutama kesusastraan Belanda, kawan kita mendalami kesusastraan Arab, poeisi atau prosanya.*" [...] "*Bung Haji kitalah yang mula2 membawa pengaruh perpustakaan Arab Modern kedalam perpustakaan Indonesia. Dia yang mula2 'membawa' Manfaluti kemari. [...] Dia menuruti kemajuan Kesusasteraan Kebudayaan dan Perpustakaan Arab yang berkembang di Mesir itu.*" (p. 78, 88). [(Hamka writes in his memoirs in the third person): "Beyond the wealth of pantuns and slokas, traditional sermons and proverbs that he used as a source for strengthening his language, there was another resource [literally: facet]: Arab literature. If other writers and journalists of that time [the 1930s] took their inspiration from Western literature, and above all Dutch literature, our friend delved into Arab literature, its poetry or its prose." [...] "Our brother Haji from the beginning carried the influence of modern Arab letters into the Indonesian library. He from the beginning "brought" Manfalūṭi here [...]. He followed the progress of the Arab Literature and Arabic Culture—the Library of Arabic Letters."]

^{cclxiii} The Dutch colonial administrator responsible for transforming *Balai Pustaka* in 1917, Rinkes, had been studying British Islamic policy in Jeddah prior to his return to the Indies and his position with *Balai Pustaka* (cf. Jedamski 1992: 26-28).

^{cclxiv} Laffan 2003: 180. The legacy of North Sumatranese cultural conflict—between an *adat* aristocracy and Islamic reformers—came to be inscribed in the Sumatra-based Jawi press (of the first and second decades of the twentieth century), a pen war in which Hamka's father played an integral part among the editorial staff of *al-Munir* (Cf. Adam

1995: 137-141).

^{cclxv} The publication date and its prohibition is mentioned in Hamka, *Kenang-Kenangan Hidup II [Life Memoirs II]*, Third Edition, Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1974 [(First Edition Printed 1951], p. 23. An extant copy of the original manuscript has yet to be found, but his post-independence works on the subject have been compiled and published under the title: *Islam dan Adat Minangkabau* (Jakarta: Pustaka Panjimas, 1984).

^{cclxvi} Hamka, "Berita memperkenalkan," [Introductory Announcement], *Pedoman Masjarakat*, 20 Januari 1936, p. 1.
^{cclxvii} My translation.

^{cclxviii} From the end of 1936 and through 1937, Hamka's writing on political Islam places more of an emphasis on the problem and prospects of an eventual leader for a pan-Islamic polity, focusing primarily on the extant monarchs of the Middle East. See for example "Persatoean Arabia Raya" ["The Unity of Greater Arabia"], *Pedoman Masjarakat*, 18 November 1936 no. 39, pp. 761-2, and a favorable introductory article to the Wahhabis and the Sauds in "Semoea adalah bekas dari gerakan M. b. Abdul Wahab di tanah Arab itu," ["All are the traces of the movement of M. b. Abdul Wahab in the land of the Arabs"], Idul Fitri edition, 10 December 1936, pp. 810-813.

^{cclxix} Hamka (attributed), "Persatoean Arabia Raya" ["The Unity of Greater Arabia"], *Pedoman Masjarakat*, 18 November 1936, no. 39, pp. 761-2.

^{cclxx} Hamka, *Pedoman Masjarakat*, no. 6, Maret 4, 1936, p.103. These views are also extended and elaborated in Hamka's later article "Kebangoenan Doenia Islam" ["The Building of the Muslim World"], *Pedoman Masjarakat*, no 13, April 27, 1936, no. 13, pp. 252-3.

^{cclxxi} My translation.

^{cclxxii} Hamka, Januari 20, 1936, *Pedoman Masjarakat*, p.1. My translation.

^{cclxxiii} Hamka writes in the second installment of his memoirs laims that the text of *Laila Madjnoen* was taken "dari riwayat Laila Majnun secara ringkas saja didalam kitab pelajaran sastra Arab bernama "Bahrul Adab."" ["from an abridged narrative of Laila Majnun from a literary textbook entitled *Bahrul Adab* (The Ocean of Literature).] " Cf. Hamka, *Kenang-Kenangan Hidup II [Life Memoirs II]*, Third Edition, Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1974, p. 31. In the first edition of his memoirs, In the first Edition (Djakarta: Usaha Penerbitan Gapura, 1951), now available in the HBJassin Archives in Jakarta, he writes that the translation was based on an extremely abridged two page version of the story (cf. p. 10-13). This suggests the extent to which the translation was in fact an elaboration and extension of the Arabic version.

^{cclxxiv} *Dibawah Lindoengan Kābah* was first published serially in *Pedoman Masjarakat* beginning in 1936 (in eleven installments, from issue no. 3 through issue no. 13, p. 56, 77, 100, 116, 137, 156, 177, 197, 216, 237, 257-9).

^{cclxxv} Hamka, *Laila Madjnoen*, Djakarta: Balai Poestaka, 1932 (cf. pp. 15, 16, 18, and 64).

^{cclxxvi} Hamka 1932: 3-4.

^{cclxxvii} Hamka 1932: 18.

^{cclxxviii} Hamka 1932: 50-52.

^{cclxxix} The original reads "gadgil"; I presume this is a typo of "gandjil."

^{cclxxx} Hamka 1932: 7-8.

^{cclxxx1} Hamka 1932: 9.

^{cclxxxii} Hamka 1932: 5.

^{cclxxxiii} My translation. Hamka expresses his own disregard for the literary productions of the "Tionghua" Malay press In *Kenang-Kenangan Hidup II [Life Memoirs II]*, Third Edition, Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1974 [First Edition Printed 1951], p. 76: "Dibuku yang pertama telah kita terangkan bahwa diwaktu kecilnja dia membaca buku2 di bibliotheek "Zainaro," hampir semua, tidak ada yang ketinggalan. Tetapi buku-buku itu tidak semua berbahasa Melayu yang tersusun baik. Banyak bahasa yang bernama "Melayu Tionghoa" karangan atau terjemahan pengarang Cina Peranakan. Syukurlah buku2 bahasa Melayu yang baik dengan huruf Melayu (Huruf Arab yang dilengkapi, disebut juga huruf Jawi) telah banyak dicetak pada masa itu." ["In the first [volume of these memoirs], we clarified that in his youth, he exhaustively read every book at the "Zainaro" library. But not all books were written in a well-composed Malay. Several were "Malay Tionghoa" texts, or the translations of Chinese minority writers. Fortunately, Malay books in Malay letters (Arabic script, also called "Jawi" script) were printed in great numbers at that time." (Hamka writes of himself in third person in his memoirs.)]

^{cclxxxiv} Hamka, *Dibawah Lindoengan Kābah*, (Djakarta: Balai Poestaka, 1938), pp. 35, 47.

^{cclxxxv} For evidence on the utopianism and egalitarianism of the Hijaz, Cf. Hamka, *Dibawah lindoengan Kābah*, (Djakarta: Balai Poestaka, 1938) pp. 5-6, 23, 49-50, 52.

^{cclxxxvi} For examples of these incursoins of Arabic into the Malay narrative, cf. Hamka, *Dibawah lindoengan Kābah*, (Djakarta: Balai Poestaka, 1938), pp. 6-7, 35, 44, 47-48, 49.

^{cclxxxvii} Hamka, in an editorial entitled "Islam & Nationalism," *Pedoman Masjarakat*, no. 11, Maart 16 1938 , p. 201.

^{ccclxxxviii} Hamka, "Islam & Nationalism," *Pedoman Masjarakat*, no. 11, Maart 16 1938, pp. 201).

^{ccclxxxix} *Tenggelamnja Kapal van der Wijck* began to appear in *Pedoman Masjarakat* in 1938. Cf. Alphonse Karr, *Sous les Tilleuls* (Paris: Michel Lévy Frères, 1857) and Muṣṭafā Luṭfī Manfalūṭī, *Mājdūlīn aw-taḥṭa zīlāl al-zayzafūn, ta'īf al-Fūns Kār* (Beirut: Dār al-Thaqāfa, 1969) [Earlier Edition: Miṣr : Matabaat al-Itimad, 1919]). The controversy concerned charges of plagiarism against Hamka, first published in the leftist press (*Harian Rakyat/Bintang Timoer*), with the "discovery" that *Tenggelamnja kapal van der Wijck* was an adaptation (of Manfaluthi's translations) rather than a purely original work. The controversy should be understood with the knowledge that Hamka was publishing (in the 1930s) for a market where literary adaptations were treated as original works (by *Balai Pustaka* editors). News coverage on the controversy has since been comprehensively compiled and documented in *Tenggelamnja kapal van der Wijck dalam Polemik*, eds. H.B. Jassin and Yunus Amir Hamzah (Jakarta: Mega Book Store, 1963).

^{ccxc} Anderson's precise term is: "inner pilgrim" (Anderson 1991: 120).

^{ccxcI} For a more detailed introduction to the Jong Sumatren Bond, the role of Sumatranese emigres in Java and their involvement in the early nationalist movement, and promotion of Malay language and literature, cf. Hans van Miert, *The 'Land of the Future': The Jong Sumatranen Bond (1917-1930) and Its Image of the Nation*, *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 30, No. 3 (July 1996), pp. 591-616, particularly on the 1928 Soempa Peoemoeda (p. 604), and Moehammad Jamin's promotion of Malay to unify Sumatra and later Indonesia (p. 607). It should perhaps also be noted that Surabaya may not have been an innocent choice of location for Hamka, given its position as an active center for *Sarekat Islam*, and its location for the printing of *al-Islam* (a collaborative publication in the 1910s between the Sumatranese founders of *al-Munir* and the leadership of *Sarekat Islam* in Surabaya) (cf. Laffan 2003: pp. 178-180).

^{ccxcII} Cf. Jeffrey Hadler, "Home, Fatherhood, Succession: Three Generations of Amrullahs in Twentieth-Century Indonesia," *Indonesia*, Vol. 65 (Apr., 1998), p. 135 and in *Muslims and Matriarchs : Cultural Resilience in Indonesia through Jihad and Colonialism*, (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008), p. 153.

^{ccxcIII} (3rd Edition, 1966), Translated in Anthony Reid *The Blood of the People: Revolution and the End of Traditional Rule in Northern Sumatra*, (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1979) p. 59.

^{ccxcIV} Hamka, writing under the pen-name "Aboe Zakij," praised the unique position of Sumatranese writers in the formation of Indonesian literary modernism in a series of articles on the formation of Indonesian literature, under a column entitled "Kebudayaan"/"Dasar Kebudayaan" ["Culture"/"The Basis of Culture"] (for the Islamic Malay publication *Pedoman Masjarakat*, for which he was the chief editor from 1936-1941). Cf. For example: *Pedoman Masjarakat*, no. 32, September 24, 1936, pp. 629-31; *Pedoman Masjarakat*, no. 33, September 30, 1936, pp. 651-2, and *Pedoman Masjarakat* no. 40, November 25, 1936, pp. 791-2. Although his name is not listed in the following editorials, the ideas included (and the citation of Hamka's father's poetry) suggest that the writing is Hamka's: "Kesusasteraan di Sumatera Barat" ["Literature in West Sumatra"] *Pedoman Masjarakat*, no. 24, June 30, 1937, p. 490, and "Djiwa Penjair Minang" ["The Spirit of Minang Poetry"], *Pedoman Masjarkat*, no. 26, Juli 14 1937, pp. 525-6. His novella entitled *Terusir* was first published in 1940.

^{ccxcV} On *Balai Pustaka*'s privileging of the "Western novel" as a genre for its literary activities, see Jedamski 1992: 38.

^{ccxcVI} Jedamski: 39-40.

^{ccxcVII} Jedamski: 23.

^{ccxcVIII} Jedamski: 40.

^{ccxcIX} Cf. Bernardin de Saint-Pierre's, *Paul et Virginie* (Paris : De l'imprimerie de Monsieur, 1789), and Alphonse Karr, *Sous les Tilleuls* (Paris: Michel Lévy Frères, 1857).

^{ccc} Hamka, "Islam dan kebangsaan," No. 1, Januari 4 1939, p. 4.

^{ccci} My translation.

^{ccciI} Hamka, *Pedoman Masjarakat*, January 1939, p. 26-7.

^{ccciII} Hamka additionally cites from the Qur'anic Sirat al-Rum: "*Setengah daripada tanda2 kebesaran Allah djoega, ialah kedjadian langit dan boemi, dan perlain-lainan (bahasa dari) lidah kamoe dan warna koelitmoe. Sesoenggoehnja jang demikian itoe mendjadi ajat (perhatian) bagi 'alam sekaliannja.*" "*wa min ayatihi khalqu al-samawaati w'al-ardi wa ikhtilaf(u) alsinatukum wa alwanikum inna fi thalik l'ayaat al-'alimin,*" al-Rum 22) ["And among the signs of him are the creation of the skies and the earth, and the difference of your tongues and the colors [of your skins], indeed in these are the signs of the eternal." (My translation)]

^{ccciIV} Hamka, "Islam dan kebangsaan," [Islam and Nationalism], *Pedoman Masjarakat*, 4 Januari 1939, p. 5.

^{cccv} My translation.

^{cccvI} *From Surat al-Hijrat, 13.* Referenced in Amadu Bamba's poem, *Massālik al-Jinān*, p. 5, line 48.

^{cccvi} Hamka, "Islam dan kebangsaan," [Islam and Nationalism], *Pedoman Masjarakat*, 4, Januari 1939, p. 4.

^{cccviii} My translation.

^{cccix} Hamka (attributed ck.) "Islam dan kebangsaan," [Islam and Nationalism], *Pedoman Masjarakat*, 4, Januari 1939, p. 4.

^{cccix} My translation.

^{cccxi} Hamka (editorial), "Diboeaikan mimpi 'Pan Islamisme'" *Pedoman Masjarakat*, 22 Feb. 1939, no. 8, p.153.

^{cccxi} Hamka (editorial), "Diboeaikan mimpi 'Pan Islamisme'" *Pedoman Masjarakat*, 22 Feb. 1939, no. 8, p.153.

^{cccxi} Hamka (editorial), "Diboeaikan mimpi 'Pan Islamisme'" *Pedoman Masjarakat*, 22 Feb. 1939, no. 8, p.153, emphasis added.

^{cccxiv} Hamka (editorial), "Diboeaikan mimpi 'Pan Islamisme'" *Pedoman Masjarakat*, 22 Feb. 1939, no. 8, p. My translation.

^{cccxi} Hamka (editorial), "Diboeaikan mimpi 'Pan Islamisme'" *Pedoman Masjarakat*, 22 Feb. 1939, no. 8, p.154.

^{cccxi} My translation.

^{cccxi} With the terms of political debate thus contracted to a national, scale, the pages of *Pedoman Masjarakat* on the eve of the second world war in 1940-1941 feature views on a second controversy, on the perceived, mutual exclusivity of secularism and Islamic religiosity in national politics. The furor of the Javanese Islamic press in the wake of Sukarno's two controversial articles ("*Islam Sontolojo*," and "*Memoedahkan pengertian Islam*") followed with Hamka's growing and ardent defense of Sukarno as a nationalist, political leader, with the ultimate position that no inherent conflict exists between the dual sustainment of Islamic practice and secular-nationalism. Hamka claims to speak for the Islamic press in Medan, in North Sumatra, in his opposition to allegations in the Javanese Islamic press of Sukarno's "apostasy," as he aligns Sukarno's secularist ideas, his desire to separate religion from the state, with the precedents of Islamic history's great theological debates: "*Fikiran demikianpoen ada dalam kalangan Islam seoroehnja*" ["Such ideas are present in the [circles] of Islam, in their entirety"] ("*Fikiran Kita: Islam dan Nasional*," ["Our Thoughts: Islam and the National"], *Pedoman Masjarakat*, 16 Oktober 1940, no. 42, p. 825. (Hamka's defense of Sukarno further progresses through in an editorial series entitled "Faham Soekarno" ["Understanding Sukarno"], published in three parts in *Pedoman Masjarakat*: 1 Mei 1940, no. 18, 344-5; 8 Mei 1940, no. 19, 365-6; 15 Mei 1940, no. 20 385-6.) For more on the larger political context of this accommodation in the 1940s, cf. Deliar Noer, *The Modernist Muslim movement in Indonesia, 1900-1942*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1973, esp. pp 247-295 (for reprints of an editorial exchange between Sukarno and Mohammad Natsir). For more on the acceptance of the pantjasila by muslim activists during and directly following the Japanese occupation (and on the transition from the Jakarta charter to the constitution, a widely interpreted as Sukarno's marginalization of Islamic political parties), cf. Howard M. Federspiel *Islam and Ideology in the Emerging Indonesian State (The Persatuan Islam), 1923-1957*, Leiden: Brill, 2001, pp. 82-3, 212-215, 280-281.

^{cccxi} In "Tjatetan Editorial: Bahasa Indonesia di Volksraad," ["Editorial Notes: The Indonesian Language in the Volksraad [Parliament]"] (*Pedoman Masjarakat*, 13 Juli 1938, No. 28, p. 541), Hamka welcomes the official establishment of the Indonesian language as an official language of political address in local parliament (where Dutch had been primarily used): "*Sekarang menang pendirian Dt. Kajo, bahasa Indonesia, bahasa jang tertjipta dari djiwa kita sendiri, akan mendjadi bahasa choethbah jang oemoem dalam kalangan wakil2 pihak kita di Volksraad. Dan disamping itoe, oleh Kongres Bahasa Indonesia jang berlangsung di Solo, dinasehatkan soepaja para Intelectueelen (tjerdik pandai) memakai bahasa Indonesia dalam masjarakat tiap hari. Memang soesah sebentar bagi Volksraad, bagi toekang2 verslag bangsa Belanda, atau bagi wakil pemerintah sendiri meladeni bahasa jang beloem biasa diketengahkan ini, tetapi kesoesanan ini tidak akan lama, menoenggoe biasa. Hidoeplah bahasa Indonesia!*" ["Now the opinion of Dt. Kajo has won, the Indonesian language, the language created of our own spirit, will become the language of public address in the circles of our parliamentary representatives at the Volksraad. And, besides this, by the Congress of the Indonesian Language directly from Solo, it has been advised that an astute and clever intellectual class employ on a daily basis the Indonesian language in their social interaction with the masses. Indeed it may be temporarily difficult for the Volksraad, for merchants accounting [verslag] in Dutch, or for government representatives themselves to attend to a language that has not yet been granted central stage, but this difficulty will not endure, as we await its habitual use. Long live the Indonesian language!" (My translation.)]

^{cccxi} Benedict Anderson's description of the traditional Javanese state, defined by a dominant center rather than through territorial borders (and uniform hegemony), may help to illuminate Hamka's (parallel) conceptualization of the Hijaz as a remote but dominant political center for the Indies. Cf. Benedict Anderson, *Language and Power: exploring political cultures in Indonesia* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1990), p. 41).

^{ccccx} Hamka, "Tjatetan Editorial: Menjamboet Kongres Bahasa Indonesia," *Pedoman Masjarakat*, 22 Juni 1938. No. 25, p. 481.

^{ccccxi} My translation.

^{ccccxii} Cf. Senghor, Léopold Sédar. "Le problème culturel en A.O.F." [The cultural problem in French West Africa], in *Liberté I: négritude et Humanisme* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1964), 19, emphasis added. [Original document: Conférence faite à la Chambre de Commerce de Dakar pour le Foyer France-Sénégal, 10 septembre 1937]

^{ccccxiii} Hamka, "Tjatetan Editorial: Bahasa Indonesia di Volksraad," 13 Juli 1938, No. 28. p. 541.

^{ccccxiv} My translation.

^{ccccxv} Questions regarding the new, moderated role of both the Arabic and Indonesian languages for devotional purposes involved decisions on: the appropriate language of address in sermons, in prayer, in ritual conversion, and in Qur'anic translation, both spoken and written. A book advertisement, preceded with the question "*Bid'ahkah Choethbah Didalam Bahasa Indonesia?*" ["Are Sermons in the Indonesian Language Unorthodox [literally: an Innovation]"] for *Alwakiboed-doerrijah* written by Hamka's father appears in *Pedoman Masjarakat*, no. 42, Oktober 16, 1940, p. 835. An explanation of the advertisement follows: "*Meskipun masalah ini pada setengah tempat telah 'basi', tetapi disetengah tempat masih baroe. Ada golongan membidahkah choethbah bahasa Indonesia, wadjib bahasa 'Arab sadja, walaupoen jang mendengar tidak mengerti sama sekali. Dan ada peola golongan jang membolehkan. Toean Dr. H. Abdoe'lkarim Aroe'llah berpendirian boleh choethbah bahasa Indonesia untuk oemat Indonesia.*" ["Although this problem for some appears stale, for others it is still a matter of fresh debate. Certain groups contend that sermons in the Indonesian language are unorthodox (heretical innovations), and that the use of Arabic is an obligation, even if those that hear it do not comprehend. There is also a group that considers it permissible. Dr. H. Abdul Karim Amrullah is of the opinion that **it is permissible to sermon in the Indonesian language for an Indonesian ecumene.**" (Original emphasis)] Hamka is listed as the publisher and distributor of the work.

^{ccccxvi} Cf. Hamka, "Pendjelasan: Sembahjang dengan bahasa sendiri," ["Clarification: Prayer in one's own language"], *Pedoman Masjarakat*, August 21, 1940, no. 34, p. 666; "Soal2 Islam: Sembahjang dalam bahasa sendiri," ["Islamic affairs: Prayer in one's own language"], *Pedoman Masjarakat*, no. 33, August 14, 1940, p. 643; "Bahasa didalam sembahjang," ["Language in Prayer"] *Pedoman Masjarakat*, no. 37, September 11, 1940, p. 723.

^{ccccxvii} Hamka, "Bahasa didalam sembahjang," ["Language in Prayer"], *Pedoman Masjarakat* 1940, no. 37, September 11, 1940, pp. 723-4.

^{ccccxviii} My translation.

^{ccccxix} Cf. Hamka, *Pedoman Masjarakat*, no. 35, August 28, 1940, p. 687-8.

^{ccccxx} Cf. Hamka, *Pedoman Masjarakat* no. 35, August 28 1940 p. 687-8: "*Bahasa 'Arab Qoeran dan kitab jang tinggi2, tidaklah akan merobah kebangsaan. Karena tidak akan terdapat didalam masjarakat biasa orang jang bersoal djawab dan bertjakap-tjakap dengan bahasa Qoeran itoe, atau menoeroet jang terseboet didalam kitab. Malah kalau sekiranya terdengar orang berbitjara: "Min aina dji'ta ja sjiachoe? Maka Scjech itoe mendjawab: Dji'toe minal masdjidi wa marartoe bil babi." Kalau terdengar perkataan demikian, tentoe orang lain akan terpantjar air matanja tertawa, sebagaimana tertawanja orang mendengarkan seorang professor Belanda jang mengandjarkan bahasa Melajoe disekolah tinggi dinegerinja, baroe datang ke Indonesia, berkata kepada seorang koeli dipelaboehan: "Wahai toeanhamba, toendjoekkan apalah kiranja kepada hamba djalan akan menoedjoe seboeah hotel. Sjahdan djika soedilah kiranja toean menoendjoekkan, tidaklah hamba akan ragoe lagi memberikan toeanhamba oeang ala kadarnja..."* ["The language of the Qur'an and the scriptures will not change the character of our nationalism. Because it will not be employed by the ordinary masses in daily life, to question and converse in the language of the Qur'an, or like a figure mentioned in the scriptures. Rather, if one was overheard saying, [in Arabic]: "*Min aina dji'ta ja sjiachoe? Maka Scjech itoe mendjawab: Dji'toe minal masdjidi wa marartoe bil babi.*" If this form of speech were overheard, undoubtedly others would laugh to the point of tears, just as people would laugh to hear a Dutch professor who had been taught the Malay language in an elite school in the Netherlands, upon first arrival in Indonesia, address a coolie at the port: "O, my good Sir, wouldst thou reveal to me, your humble servant, the path leading to a certain hotel. Should this be witnessed, my lord need not doubt the compensation of this deed, by the measure of my financial powers..." (My translation).]

^{ccccxxi} Hamka's article was first printed in 1952 (*Hikmah*), later republished in 1976, and posthumously in 1989. His 1952 ideas were reprised in his presentations at the (Sumatranese-dominated) Medan Conference on Bahasa Indonesia in 1954. Cf. Hamka, "Pengaruh Huruf Atas Bahasa dan Bangsa," [The influence of script beyond language and Nation], *Hikmah*, no. 107, February 16, 1952, p. 18. pp. 18-20, (now archived at the Perpustakaan Nasional), and reprinted in *Harmonis*, no. 105 & 106, April 1 1976, pp. 8-9 and April 15, 1976, pp. 8-9, 34, and *Harmonis*, no. 412 & 413, November 15, 1989, p. 16-17, and December 1, 1989, pp.16-17 (reprints archived at the

the Pusat Dokumentasi Kesusasteraan H.B. Jassin, in the Hamka dossier).

^{cccxixii} To justify or defend his prescriptions for returning the Arabic script to its rightful and “original” place, he highlights its former ubiquity as a political vessel and its lexical traces in classical Malay: “*Keradjaan-keradjaan di Indonesia, tidak ada wakil-wakil bangsa asing jang dapat menjampaiakan kehendaknja kepada Radja-radja Indonesia, kalau dia tidak menulis surat resmi dalam bahasa Indonesia lama, huruf Arab. Bahkan plakat pandjang jang terkenal di Sumatera Barat dan Tapanuli, dibuat dua matjam. Sematjam bahasa Belanda dan sematjam bahasa Melayu huruf Djawi. [...] Bendera “Kijahi Tunggul Wulung” di Kraton Djokja, bertulisan huruf Arab.*” (Hamka 1952: 18) [“In Indonesia’s kingdoms, there were no foreign representatives that could reach them without writing official letters in Indonesia’s ancient language, in Arabic script. Furthermore, the extended plaques known in West Sumatra and Tapanuli were written in two forms. One was in Dutch and the other in Malay transcribed in Arabic script. [...] The “*Kijahi Tunggul Wulung*” banner [bendera] in the Sultan’s Palace of Jogja is also written in Arabic script.” (My translation)]

^{cccxixiii} Hamka, “Pengaruh Huruf Atas Bahasa dan Bangsa,” [The influence of script beyond language and Nation], *Hikmah*, no. 107, February 16, 1952, p. 18.

^{cccxixiv} My translation.

^{cccxixv} Hamka 1952: 19.

^{cccxixvi} My translation.

^{cccxixvii} Hamka 1952: 18.

^{cccxixviii} My translation.

^{cccxixix} This is a view which led to his suspicion by Sukarno of harboring a pan-Islamist politics that subordinated *de facto* national interests to broader, pan-Islamist political aspirations.

^{cccxl} Hamka by the 1970s appears to employ *jawi* exclusively for the private transcription of early drafts of his work, and, after his ascent to the chairmanship of the *Majlis al-Ulama Indonesia* (Indonesian Council of Islamic Clerics), employed *jawi* for the drafting of a confidential letter to President Suharto (after negotiations at an inter-faith conference in the late 1970s, a letter re-transcribed into Latin script for delivery). For more on these examples, see Roesydi Hamka’s *Pribadi dan Martabat Buya Prof. Hamka*, (Jakarta: Pustaka Panjimas, 1981) pp. 207, 210.

^{cccxli} Hamka 1952: 18.

^{cccxlii} Hamka, *Kenang-Kenangan ku di Malaya*, Singapura: Setia Derma, 1957 (originally printed in Arabic script; *jawi* and *rumi* versions are available at the National Library of Malaysia in Kuala Lumpur, Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia). Of the contested nature of “politik bahasa” in Indonesia, Hamka mentions the prescriptions of an “*ahli bahasa Jawa kuno*” [“expert of Classical Javanese language”] who claims the Indonesian language is insufficiently refined, and must be lexically enriched by Sanskritized Javanese (p. 103). Hamka’s counter-argument is that Javanese, with its status levels, *ngoko* and *kromo*, is undemocratic (p. 116). He further mentions a second hostile group, led by Syarif Osman of the leftist Lembaga Kebudayaan Rakyat, who wished to “*hapuskan pengaruh Bahasa Arab*” [“erase the influence of Arabic”] in the Indonesian language (p. 108-9). Hamka states that, given these controversies, Malaysians can act as an enduring example of the centrality of Arabic to the Malay language, and of Islam to Malay identity.

^{cccxliii} Hamka 1957: 110.

^{cccxliv} My translation.

^{cccxlv} Editor’s preface to *Kenang Kenangan ku di Malaya* (romanized edition).

^{cccxlvi} Cf. The Anglo-Dutch Treaty of 1824.

^{cccxlvii} Hamka 1957: 32.

^{cccxlviii} My translation.

^{cccxlix} Cf. Anthony H. Johns, “Qur’anic exegesis in the Malay-Indonesian World: an Introductory Survey,” in in Abdullah Saeed (ed.) *Approaches to the Qur’an in Contemporary Indonesia*, (London: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 17-18. Johns notes that, since the early 15th century, Malay had been diglossically employed for the propagation of Islam.

^{cccl} Laffan 2003: 144.

^{cccli} The racialized, Dutch colonial distinction between an allegedly foreign, more orthodox Islam (Arabized “*santri*” or “*putihan*” forms) and a more syncretist (“*abangan*”) version parallels the racialized, French colonial distinction between “*Islam Noire*” [Black Islam] and “*Islam Maure*” [White, “Moorish” Islam]. This suggests the extent to which the racialized definition of Islam by Dutch and French orientalist was a general precondition to Islamic policy developments in French West Africa and the Dutch East Indies. These parallel ethnographic constructions eventually moderated early colonial insecurities about Islam as an ideological threat (in French West Africa and the Dutch East Indies), justifying in both regions the eventual accomodation of mass devotional practice and the general

marginalization of more “orthodox,” “scripturalist” reformists in Senegal and Indonesia (whose pan-Islamist orientation, concern with religious purity, and rejection of foreign control was deemed an enduring and ultimately “foreign” threat to European governance). Having suggested implications for the Senegalese case, in the present chapter I consider the parallel developments and widely different effects of these prejudices and constructions in Indonesia—what might in a collective, pan-Islamic imaginary be considered the other extreme of the *umma*. For more on the racialization of colonial Dutch Islamic policy in the Dutch East Indies, see Sumit Kumar Mandal’s dissertation, *Finding their place: A History of Arabs in Java under Dutch Rule, 1800-1924*, 102-118 (the linguistic aspect of this racialization is treated on pp. 113-15).

^{ccclii} Laffan 2003: 144.

^{cccliii} Laffan 2003: 144.

^{cccliv} For more on the politics of confrontation (*Konfrontasi*) between Malaysia and Indonesia, cf. Matthew Jones, *Conflict and Confrontation in South East Asia, 1961–1965: Britain, the United States and the Creation of Malaysia*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002, and James Mackie, *Konfrontasi: The Indonesia-Malaysia Dispute 1963–1966*, Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1974. Brief mention of this is also made in Rickleffs 2001: 329-331.

^{ccclv} Hamka cited in “Mengapa Hamka dipenjara”? [Why was Hamka imprisoned?], *Al-Islam* [Published in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia] May 15, 1974, pp. 10-11. In the this interview with *Al-Islam*, Hamka additionally gives as reasons for his incarceration: (1) his giving refuge (and an escape route to leave Indonesia) to 38 Malaysian students in Jogjakarta, when relations worsened between Malaysia and Indonesia (and when the Indonesian Communist Party became increasingly powerful in Jogjakarta), and (2) the close relations between Hamka and the Malaysian ambassador Datuk Kamaruddin. For Hamka’s memoirs on his incarceration (on allegations for which Hamka was never publicly tried), see the appendix “Lampiran I: Catatan Dalam Tahanan Regim Sukarno” in Roesydi Hamka’s *Pribadi dan Martabat Buya Prof. Hamka*, (Jakarta: Pustaka Panjimas, 1981) pp. 237-274.

^{ccclvi} My translation.

^{ccclvii} The term “New Order” is a term constructed by Suharto’s militarily backed regime after 1965, to assert its distinction from Sukarno’s post-revolutionary “Old Order” (cf. Rickleffs 2001: 342).

^{ccclviii} Razif Bahari, in his treatment of Pramoedya’s *Buru Quartet*, uses the term “social-realism” (See Razif Bahari, *Pramoedya Postcolonially Re-Viewing History, Gender and Identity in the Buru tetralogy*, Bali: Pustaka Larasan, 2007). I have elected to use the term which Pram employs in his work *Realisme-Sosialis dan Sastra Indonesia* [Socialist-Realism and Indonesian Literature]—a decision which, as I later hope to demonstrate, is warranted by certain influences or patterns of Soviet socialist-realism in his fiction.

^{ccclxcclix} For more on Pramoedya and Sembene’s respective association with socialist realist fiction in the late 1950s and early 1960s, cf. Foulcher on Lekra. For more on Pramoedya’s development towards transnational socialist-realist influences, cf. Martina Heinschke, *Between Gelanggang and Lekra: Pramoedya’s Developing Literary Concepts, Indonesia*, Vol. 61, (Apr., 1996), pp. 149. Note the works focused on in present chapter date from after his unequivocal affiliation with leftist cultural-nationalism (in the 1960s).

Introduction Note in introduction that Pramoedya had been involved in the Asian and African Writers’ conference in Tashkent, in the Soviet union, Cf. Liu (p. 131) Liu, Hong, Pramoedya Ananta Toer and China: The Transformation of a Cultural Intellectual, *Indonesia* Vol. 61, (Apr., 1996), & Foulcher, Keith *Social commitment in literature and the arts: the Indonesian “Institute of People’s Culture,” 1950-1965* Clayton, Vic: Southeast Asian Studies, Monash University, 1986.

For more on Pramoedya’s historical fiction in the broader context of realist and anti-realist trends in Indonesian fiction after 1965, cf. Keith Foulcher, “Postmodernism or the question of history: some trends in Indonesian fiction since 1965,” in Robert Cribb, ed. *The Indonesian Killings of 1965-66*, Monash University Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, 1990, pp. 27-47.

For more on Pram’s translation of *Mother* [Ibunda], cf. Day, Tony, “Still Stuck in the Mud: Imagining World Literature During the Cold War in Indonesia and Vietnam,” in *Cultures At War: The Cold War and Cultural Expression in Southeast Asia* Eds. Tony Day and Maya HT Liem Ithaca: Cornell University Southeast Asia Program Publications, 2010.

^{ccclx} Pramoedya’s activism on the non-colonial language press, cf. Tirta Adi Surjo, Pramoedya Ananta Toer, *Sang Pemula*, Jakarta: Hasta Mitra, 1985. Gogwilt, Christopher, *Passage of literature: genealogies of modernism in Conrad, Rhys, and Pramoedya* New York: Oxford University Press, 2011. 160-66. Pramoedya Ananta Toer, *Hoakiau di Indonesia*, [The Chinese in Indonesia: an English translation of Hoakiau di Indonesia], translated into English by Max Lane. Singapore: Select Publications, 2007 [First published in 1960].

Foulcher 1986: Pram 119, on radical Indonesian literature, vs. Teeuw on beginnings of Indonesian literature with BP (in the 1920s);

^{ccclxi} For more on the oral transmission of Pramoedya’s work in prison before its transcription, [cf. Pramoedya Ananta Toer, “My Apologies in the Name of Experience,” Translated by Alex G. Bardsley, *Indonesia* vol. 61, April 1996, pp. 1-14].

^{ccclxii} More information on Sembene and Sjuman’s experiences/training in the early 60s in Moscow [when, where, with whom].

^{ccclxiii} Clark, Katerina, *The Soviet Novel: History as Ritual*, Third Edition, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000.

Clark 16.

^{ccclxiv} Gorky is a figure about which Pram concludes (revealing that he himself was not naive about the political machinations of the Soviet state) Gorky was an author much loved by the masses and in return for his service to his country was granted by his government the gift of death (Pramoedya Ananta Toer, *Realisme Sosialis dan Sastra Indonesia* Jakarta: Lentera Dipantara, 2003 pp. 23-24).

^{ccclxv} The work was originally produced in the form of a seminar paper in 1963, later published under the title *Realisme Sosialis dan Sastra Indonesia*. Cf. Foulcher 1986: on Pram’s translation of Gorki (Ibunda)), 52.

^{ccclxvi} *Realisme-Sosialis dan Sastra Indonesia*, p. 29, 31.

ccclxxvii⁶⁴ cf Heinschke & Foulcher (1986)

ccclxxviii⁶⁵ As Martina Hienschke notes, “socialist realism seemed to him workable in places where the socialist struggle had not yet taken on the form of a conscious effort [] This broad definition of the term allowed Pramoedya to research in Indonesian literary history for texts representing such a revolutionary tradition He discovered ‘revolutionary’ works mainly in early literary texts in lingua francas Malay published outside of the colonial publishing house, Balai Poestaka” (Martina Heinschke, *Between Gelanggang and Lekra Pramoedya's Developing Literary Concepts, Indonesia*, Vol 61, (Apr, 1996), p 167)

ccclxxix⁶⁶ Heinschke 1996 167

ccclxxx⁶⁷ For more on Tirta Adi Surjo in Pramoedya's *Buru Quartet*, cf Hitchcock p 145, and Takeshi Shiraishi's “Reading Pramoedya Ananta Toer's *Sang Pemula* [The Pioneer], *Indonesia*, vol 44 (October 1987) 129-139

ccclxxxi⁶⁸ Benedict Anderson, *Language and Power* Ithaca Cornell University Press, 1990, p 199 Pheng Cheah *Spectral nationality passages of freedom from Kant to postcolonial literatures of liberation* New York Columbia University Press, 2003 Christopher Gogwilt, *Passage of literature genealogies of modernism in Conrad, Rhys, and Pramoedya* New York Oxford University Press, 2011 Peter Hitchcock, *The Long space transnationalism and postcolonial form* Stanford, CA Stanford University Press, 2010

ccclxxxii⁶⁹ Benedict Anderson, “Rereading ‘Revenge,’” in *Writing on the Tongue* Edited by A L Becker Ann Arbor The University of Michigan Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, 1989, p 58

ccclxxxiii⁷⁰ Tony Day, “Locating Indonesian Literature in the World” *Modern Language Quarterly* 68 2 (2007), p 187, 183

ccclxxxiv⁷¹ Day 2007 192-3

ccclxxxv⁷² Day 2007 193

ccclxxxvi⁷³ For more on Pramoedya's translations during the 1950s, of Gorky, Steinbeck, and Tolstoy, cf Tony Day, Tony Day, “Still Stuck in the Mud Imagining World Literature during the Cold War in Indonesia and Vietnam,” in *Cultures at War The Cold War and Cultural Expression in Southeast Asia*, Eds Tony Day and May H T Liem Ithaca Cornell Southeast Asia Program Publications, 2010, pp 146-7

ccclxxxvii⁷⁴ *Arok Dedes tr Lane pp 23-24* This is taken from a passage in *Arok Dedes* featuring the female kitchen slaves at the Javanese court of Tumapel

““Look out!” the slave Unggak screamed Oti jumped

Several women carrying a copper pot of boiling water were thrown off balance [] ‘Tonga! Tonga!’ one of the slaves bearing the water shouted Nobody knew what she was saying Nobody wanted to know her language”

ccclxxxviii⁷⁵ Pramoedya 2003 158 This reframing of a leftist historicist project in terms of local caste hierarchies is one that might be compared to the work of Senghor (in his more egalitarian redefinition of local caste) or to Sembene's works, where a noble guelwaar class is challenged and satirized and a (lower orator class) dignified—as the sole figures able to speak truth to power (*Menggelinding* 555)

ccclxxxix⁷⁶ Hering, Bob (ed), “Pramoedya Ananta Toer The Role and Attitude of Intellectuals in the Third World,” [Extract from 1987 lecture by Pramoedya Ananta Toer at th University of Indonesia], Translated by Harry Aveling, in *Pramoedya Ananta Toer 70 Tahun Essays to Honour Pramoedya Ananta Toer's 70th Year* Stein, Netherlands Edisi Sastra Kabar Seberang/Sulating Maphilindo 24/25, 1995, p 114-126

ccclxxxx⁷⁷ For a synopsis of the account based on the classical sources on the Arok Dedes legend—the *Nagarakertagama* (written in 1365 by the poet Prapanca), and the *Pararaton* written in 1478, after the decline of the Majapahit Empire, cf R B Slametmuljana, *A Story of Majapahit in the 14th Century* Singapore Singapore University Press, 1976, pp 1-19 For more on the distinction between the epic and chronicle forms of the Javanese epic, see Mary S Zurbuchen *Introduction to Old Javanese Language and Literature A Kawi Prose Anthology*, Ann Arbor The University of Michigan Series in South and Southeast Asian Languages and Linguistics, No 3, 1976, pp 37-40 For an account of the Arok legend in the Javanese chronicle, the *Pararaton*, cf Zurbuchen pp 65-68)

ccclxxxxi⁷⁸ Pram's self-conscious departure of what could have been a direct borrowing of the traditional version of the tale (with Arok as a bandit) is documented in “My Apologies in the Name of Experience,” translated by Alex Bardsley, p 6

ccclxxxxii⁷⁹ For more on Pram's conception of *Arok Dedes* in prison, and on his self-conscious departure from depictions of Ken Arok as a scoundrel and bandit, see page 6 of Pramoedya Ananta Toer “My Apologies in the Name of Experience,” Translated by Alex G Bardsley, *Indonesia* vol 61, April 1996, pp 1-14 Pramoedya mentions the conception of his writing of Ken Arok while in Buru “Ken Arok of the thirteenth century came to me while I was in exile on Buru Without Buru he would probably not have met me, and would have remained caged in legend The chief gods of the thirteenth century are still those of the twentieth the lords of capital, technology, and information Only, when I wrote the story *Arok and Dedes* in exile on Buru, I dressed them up with a new interpretation so they could come out of the cage of legend [] A fellow political prisoner [] put the question [to me] can the cycle of Arok not be replaced with a different image?” (p 6-7)

ccclxxxxiii⁸⁰ For more on the 1928 youth conference and the “*sumpah pemuda*,” and the rendition of Muhammad Yamin's play *Arok Dedes*, cf Dewi, Novita, “Power, Leadership and Morality A reading of Ken Arok's Images in Indonesian Literature and popular culture” PhD Thesis, Southeast Asia Studies Program, NUS 2005 (accessed via scholarbank nus edu sg, 06/13/2011)

Novita Dewi p 51-76

ccclxxxxiv⁸¹ Clark 38

ccclxxxxv⁸² Clark 38

ccclxxxxvi⁸³ Clark 38

ccclxxxxvii⁸⁴ Clark 38

ccclxxxxviii⁸⁵ Bakhtin, Mikhail, “Epic and Novel,” in *Essentials of the Theory of Fiction*, Eds Patrick Murphy and Michael Hoffman, Durham, NC Duke University Press, 2005, 49

ccclxxxxix⁸⁶ Bakhtin 49

ccclxxc⁸⁷ Bakhtin 49

ccclxxci⁸⁸ Clark p 35-6

ccclxxcii⁸⁹ Clark 37

ccclxxciii⁹⁰ Clark 37

ccclxxciv⁹¹ Clark elaborates “Thus the Stalimist novel was supported by a world view that tended to annul time, to write off that unbridgeable distance between its own kind of absolute epic past and the present Fictional, historical, and actual experience were homogenized inssofar as they all tended to be refracted through the lens of myth to form one of the archetypal patterns There is no collision in the novel between ‘is’ or ‘present’)

and 'ought to be' (or 'epic past'—or future), or, by extension, even between simple and complex " Clark40

^{cdxcv} Clark 39, 38, 35

^{cdxcvi} Clark or Bakhtin 46

^{cdxcvii} Pramoedya Ananta Toer, *Arok of Java* a novel of early Indonesia Translated and with an introduction by Max Lane Singapore Horizon Books, 2007, 8-34

^{cdxcviii} Bakhtin 43

^{cdxcix} Clark p 57 Pramoedya Ananta Toer, *Arok of Java* a novel of early Indonesia Translated and with an introduction by Max Lane Singapore Horizon Books, 2007, p 60-61, 230-231, 234-5, 237, 240

^{cd} Fn On the radiance of Ken Arok's face during his sleep (within the classical fourteenth and fifteenth century Javanese accounts), cf R B Slametmuljana, *A Story of Majapahit in the 14th Century* Singapore Singapore University Press, 1976, p 13

Fn For more on this question of the Chinese involvement in the spread of Islam in the Indonesian archipelago, cf R B Slametmuljana, *A Story of Majapahit in the 14th Century* Singapore Singapore University Press, 1976, pp 217-243

^{cdi} Clark 59-61 Clark reads in this the Soviet continuation of hagiographic or iconic forms of religious representation, with the "symbolization of physical features" used to describe Gorky's protagonist, evoking a "traditional state of grace," with "the sparse, formulaic details [] reminiscent of the way the saint or ideal prince was depicted in medieval[Russian] texts" (p 58)

^{cdii} Clark 167

^{cdiii} Clark 15

^{cdiv} Clark 167, 15 Arok's early banditry—gambling, pillage, rape—was original to classical accounts of the Arok legend (cf R B Slametmuljana, *A Story of Majapahit in the 14th Century* Singapore Singapore University Press, 1976, pp 12-13), it appears to be Pram's innovation, however, to have made of this early banditry another example of Arok's position as a positive hero depicting this instead as a spontaneous but well-intentioned defense of the *sudra* caste In addition, although the period of Arok's study with ascetic priests was also featured in classical Javanese sources on the Arok legend (cf Slametmuljana, p 14), it appears to be Pram's innovation to symbolically reinterpret Arok's overthrow of Tunggal Ametung as a vindication of the Brahmin against the ksatriya), as a matter of caste overthrows

^{cdv} Clark 57

^{cdvi} Clark 57

^{cdvii} Bakhtin 43

^{cdviii} This paradigm or framework parallels that of the monumental work by Gorky *Mother* which in the early 1940s "emerged from comparative obscurity to be reinstated as an exemplar in the early thirties," "ma[king] possible the single master plot of Socialist Realism, which patterns the various motifs into one sequence," "include[ing] the 'road to consciousness' plot formula and the positive hero character type" (p 54-55) Gorky's [protagonist] in *Mother*, [Pavel] therefore offers the prototype of the positive hero of the socialist-realist novel, a work that "presents a full portrait of Pavel only after his conversion," corresponding to a "fairly stable" depiction of him" (p 56) "Pavel remains to the end that strong and fearless character the reader first saw [] He did change, first when he went to work and began to drink, and then again when he was converted, but Gorky does not show his hero during that time, he gives only sketchy reports of his hero's early activities " (p 56)

^{cdix} Pramoedya Ananta Toer, *Arok of Java* a novel of early Indonesia Translated and with an introduction by Max Lane Singapore Horizon Books, 2007, p 14

^{cdx} Pramoedya, *Arok of Java* a novel of early Indonesia Translated and with an introduction by Max Lane Singapore Horizon Books, 2007, p 57,

^{cdxi} Clark or Bakhtin Pramoedya Ananta Toer, *Arok of Java* a novel of early Indonesia Translated and with an introduction by Max Lane Singapore Horizon Books, 2007, p 150

^{cdxii} For more on a comparison of the Bharatayuddha and the Mahabharata, the Javanese adaptation, cf Zoetmulder, P J, *Kalangwan A survey of Old Javanese Literature* The Hague Martinus Nijhoff (Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde Translation Series 16), 1974, 279 "The epic supplied the subject matter, which the Old Javanese poet gave the form of a *kakawin* ["greater relief of the to the dramatic high points by eliminating less important details and digressions" but "took the liberty to insert a number of passages which do not do anything to change the story"

^{cdxiii} Pramoedya, *Arok of Java* a novel of early Indonesia Translated and with an introduction by Max Lane Singapore Horizon Books, 2007, p 57, p 145

^{cdxiv} Pramoedya, *Arok of Java* a novel of early Indonesia Translated and with an introduction by Max Lane Singapore Horizon Books, 2007, pp 131, 148

^{cdxv} Pramoedya, *Arok of Java* a novel of early Indonesia Translated and with an introduction by Max Lane Singapore Horizon Books, 2007, p 127

^{cdxvi} Pramoedya, *Arok of Java* a novel of early Indonesia Translated and with an introduction by Max Lane Singapore Horizon Books, 2007, p 145,

^{cdxvii} Pramoedya, *Arok of Java* a novel of early Indonesia Translated and with an introduction by Max Lane Singapore Horizon Books, 2007, p 137-8

^{cdxviii} Supomo, S, *Bhāratayuddha an old Javanese poem and its Indian sources* New Delhi International Academy of Indian Culture and Aditya Prakashan, 1993 This episode is found in Canto 38 of the Javanese *Bhāratayuddha*, found on pages 233-4 of Supomo's English translation

^{cdxix} Zoetmulder 279

^{cdxx} Zoetmulder p 271 Fn Possible footnote for Part V Notes from P J Zoetmulder *Kalangwan A survey of Old Javanese Literature* The Hague Martinus Nijhoff (Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde Translation Series 16), 1974 (of relevance)

[Zoetmulder suggests that the eulogistic terms in which the second author of the epic (*mpu Panuluh*) wrote of his predecessor, makes it "extremely unlikely that he is speaking of a poet who has incurred the disfavor of the then reigning monarch " [and that little textual evidence exists to suggest the death of the poet at the time the work was completed—nor evidence within the text to suggest], the second author makes clear his deference to his predecessor, regretting, "the sweetness of mpu Sedh was to have such a bitter-tasting end" (p 271),

^{cdxxi} Fn maybe on Suharto and Sukarno's affiliation with Jayabaya, and on Anderson's argument on the neo-kramanization of the new order, or the deployment of traditional Javanese forms of symbolic authority in the new order [Then transition into the details of the reading on p 137, which you have on the CTBI from p 10-12]

* Historical Dictionary of Indonesia, that Sukarno and Suharto both meditated at Merang where Jayabhaya [of the Isana dynasty] became an ascetic (claiming himself incarnation of Vishnu) Here there is a direct relationship by Sukarno and Suharto of Jayabaya, and here {maybe one

can read allegorically}, the fact that [Pram was imprisoned by both {for his writing}—and that here you have , but work that was not available until after the end of the new order,] noting that Cf Robert Cribb and Audrey Kahin (eds.), *Historical dictionary of Indonesia*, vol 51, Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 2004, p 210 [2nd Edition]

cdxxxii Zoetmulder p 273

cdxxxiii Zoetmulder p 271

cdxxxiv Of the dual authorship of the Barathayuddha Zoetmulder concludes, comparing formal aspects of the two writers, “It seems that the second author understood his task in a way that was entirely different from that in which mpu Sedah had visualized his [] We can even imagine the king also giving directions [] for the way in which he wanted [innovations in the Javanese adaptation (like the Salyawadha) treated But to enter the limitless field of possibilities is to run the risk of getting ourselves lost in the maze of fantasies of the later Javanese tradition” (Zoetmulder 279)

cdxxxv Arok’s intertextual exegesis offers the logic of Arok’s rebellion, and the catalyst for the remaining plot detailing the transgressions of the *ksatriya* caste against the *Brahmin*, Arok compares Jayabaya to the villain of *Arok Dedes*, Tunggal Ametung, in a narrative rendition that evokes the central plot of the Indic *Ramayana* epic (Shinta’s abduction by the ogre Rawana) This is further reinforced by the context of Arok’s exegetical performance, in which (in the congress of Brahmin) additional Javanese adaptations of Indic epic are characterized or evaluated on the basis of their deification of reigning kings Among the works cited is Mpu Kanwa’s *Arjunawiwaha* (for King Erlangga) as “the first holy book to deify human beings,” followed by *Krensayana* written by Mpu Triguna for Jayawarsa (p 137), in addition to the Javanized adaptation of the Mahabharata, which, judging “from the Dutaparwa to Saptikaaparwa,” served “to deify King Jayabaya,” in its suggestion of an equivalence between the extant regent (Jayabaya) and the God Vishnu (in the incarnation of Krishna) This is notably contrast with Mpu Dharaja’s *Smaradhahana*, a sign of progress “another step forward” (p 137) for depicting Sri Baginda Kemesywar and his Consort “as human beings” (p 137) This suggests the extent to which (for Pram) progress for literature meant the *humanization* of images of power All citations taken from Pramoedya Ananta Toer, *Arok of Java a novel of early Indonesia* Translated and with an introduction by Max Lane Singapore Horizon Books, 2007

cdxxxvi Pramoedya Ananta Toer, *Arok of Java a novel of early Indonesia* Translated and with an introduction by Max Lane Singapore Horizon Books, 2007 (p 152)

cdxxxvii If, as Clark suggests, the characterization of the literary protagonist of the socialist-realist novel occurs in mythic terms, if the “positive hero” recurrent in the socialist-realist novel shares characteristics of the epic hero (by Bakhtin’s definition), in his position as an “‘emblem of virtue’ whose life ‘should be patterned to ‘show the forward movement of history’ in an allegorical representation of one stage in history’s dialectical progress,” representing “‘what ought to be,’” “is left for lesser protagonists, or sometimes for ‘negative characters,’ to represent ‘what is’” (Clark 46)

cdxxxviii As a result, Lane’s decision to entitle his English translation *Arok of Java* instead of *Arok Dedes* insufficiently carries the dual balance of the narrative

cdxxxix Bakhtin 56

cdxxx Pramoedya Ananta Toer, *Arok of Java a novel of early Indonesia* Translated and with an introduction by Max Lane Singapore Horizon Books, 2007tr Lane p 381

cdxxxxi Bakhtin 56

cdxxxii I contrast to her recurrent presumption that Sanskrit (and Javanese, which takes its authority by fiat from Sanskrit) commands universal reverence as a sacred language, her slavewomen recall an earlier life untouched by reverence for the language, and question its invoked defense of their own forced labor (as members of the lowest born caste) In the opening chapters of the novel, it is the lowest borne caste that question the the gods of interior Java, those that “do not know why the Gods chose Sanskrit as their language” (*Arok Dedes* tr Lane, 40) For more evidence on Dedes’s earlier reverence for Sanskrit, cf especially pp 9, 91, and on the perspective of forced laborers, p 22-24, 40 Pramoedya Ananta Toer, *Arok of Java a novel of early Indonesia* Translated and with an introduction by Max Lane Singapore Horizon Books, 2007

cdxxxiii Pollock, Sheldon, *Language of the gods in the world of men Sanskrit, culture, and power in premodern India* Berkeley University of California Berkeley Press, 2006

cdxxxiv This question of the feminine choice of caste allegiance (so central to *Arok Dedes*) resonates with Pramoedya’s additional historical work (initially confiscated, destroyed, and later partially republished) on the aristocratic feminist and proto-nationalist Kartini (discussed later in the present chapter)

cdxxxv Hering, Bob (ed), “Pramoedya Ananta Toer The Role and Attitude of Intellectuals in the Third World,” [Extract from 1987 lecture by Pramoedya Ananta Toer at th University of Indonesia], Translated by Harry Aveling, in *Pramoedya Ananta Toer 70 Tahun Essays to Honour Pramoedya Ananta Toer’s 70th Year* Stein, Netherlands Edisi Sastra Kabar Seberang/Sulating Maphilindo 24/25, 1995, p 114-126

cdxxxvi For more on the historical significance of the Northern Javanese Port of Demak, see Rickleffs 1991 41-49 The harbor of Demak historically connected the trade route between the eastern spice islands of the archipelago and the western strait of Malacca, the maritime passage that joins the Pacific and Indian Oceans Demak’s position near the mouth of the Javanese river Serang strategically joined the port to the riverine networks of interior Java, lending Demak further importance as the location from which rice from Java’s interior could be exported to the outlying islands of the archipelago

cdxxxvii Although Pramoedya conceived (and orally narrated) segments of both *Arok Dedes* and *Arus Balik* when imprisoned on Buru island, Pramoedya published *Arok Dedes* (1999) after publishing *Arus Balik* (1995) Published at approximately the same time as when Pramoedya received the Magsaysay Award for Literature, *Arus Balik* was made available upon its publication (see Scherer p 43, footnote 2) For more on the conception and narration of both novels in Buru, cf Pramoedya’s “*My Apologies in the name of experience*,” and “*Art in New Order prisons*”

cdxxxviii See, for example, Pramoedya Ananta Toer, *Arus Balik sebuah novel sejarah* Jakarta Hasta Mitra, 1995, pp 662-3

cdxxxix For more on the history of Tuban and the Islamization of Java, cf (Cf Rickleffs 1991 36), and Savitri Scherer, [M C , *Mystic Synthesis in Java A History of Islamization from the Fourteenth to the early Nineteenth Centuries* Norwalk, CT Eastbridge, 2006]

cdxl Pramoedya Ananta Toer, *Arus Balik sebuah novel sejarah* Jakarta Hasta Mitra, 1995, p 468

cdxli One such example in Indonesian reads “Dan sekarang ia mengetahui Tuban berada di antara Hindu dan Islam, tidak punya sikap yang pasti terhadap Peranggi Tuban harus menentang Peranggi, tanpa menjadi Islam, juga tidak karena Hindu ” [“And now he understood Tuban [his native kingdom] stood between Hinduism and Islam, without assuming a firm posture towards the Portugese [] Tuban would have to challenge the Portugese, without becoming [a Muslim theocracy], but also not for the sake of Hinduism”] (*Arus Balik*, p 243, my translation)

cdxlii Pramoedya Ananta Toer, *Arus Balik sebuah novel sejarah* Jakarta Hasta Mitra, 1995 (“hanya secarik pasir untuk ikut membendung arus balik dari utara Arus balik itu ternyata tak dapat dibendung ” (740) (the original citation in Indonesian, p 740 “menyedarkan raja dan sultan

sehingga jadi gelombang raksasa, bukan sekedar yang mendesak arus balik dari utara, bukan saja untuk jaman kemerosotan ini, juga kelangsungannya untuk selama-lamanya ”—

^{cdliiii}Pramoedya Ananta Toer, *Arus Balik sebuah novel sejarah* Jakarta Hasta Mitra, 1995 pp 363-4-9

^{cdliiv}Scherer, Savitri, “Globalisation in Java in the 16th Century A Review of Pramoedya’s *Arus Balik*” in *Archipel*, vol 55 (1998), pp 43-60 (page what?)

^{cdliv}“Syahbandar a religious cleric who functions both as a court translator, tax collector, and port authority Cf Pramoedya Ananta Toer, *Arus Balik sebuah novel sejarah* Jakarta Hasta Mitra, 1995 p 72-3

^{cdliiv}Pramoedya Ananta Toer, *Arus Balik sebuah novel sejarah* Jakarta Hasta Mitra, 1995

^{cdliiv}Pramoedya Ananta Toer, *Arus Balik sebuah novel sejarah* Jakarta Hasta Mitra, 1995

This irony is further extended in the Syahbandar’s having been hired for his mastery of *latin-script* languages (Portugese and Spanish) without deigning to understand the local vernacular (Javanese) and its sanskritized script—which he deems a “*Tulisan kafir*” [“the script of infidels”], *Arus Balik* p 79

^{cdliivii}Pramoedya Ananta Toer, *Arus Balik sebuah novel sejarah* Jakarta Hasta Mitra, 1995

Arus Balik p 125-6

^{cdlix}My translation

^{cdl}Pramoedya Ananta Toer, *Arus Balik sebuah novel sejarah* Jakarta Hasta Mitra, 1995

Arus Balik p 144 146

^{cdli}Gogwilt, Christopher, *Passage of literature genealogies of modernism in Conrad Rhys and Pramoedya* New York Oxford University Press, 2011, p 202-205

^{cdlii}Pramoedya Ananta Toer, *Arus Balik sebuah novel sejarah* Jakarta Hasta Mitra, 1995p 503

^{cdliii}My translation

^{cdliiv}Pramoedya Ananta Toer, *Arus Balik sebuah novel sejarah* Jakarta Hasta Mitra, 1995, p 504

^{cdliiv}My translation

^{cdliiv}Pramoedya Ananta Toer, *Arus Balik sebuah novel sejarah* Jakarta Hasta Mitra, 1995, p 147-8

^{cdliiviii}“Producer Dan Sutradara Wali Sanga Jangan Salah Tafsir Reaksi Ummat,” [“The Producer and Director of Wali Sanga Must Not Misinterpret the Reaction of the Umma”] *Terbit*, August 25, 1980 [Sinematek Archives, Jakarta, Indonesia]

^{cdliiviii}Cf Rickleffs for more on Wali Songo, cf Slametmuljana and Rickleffs -For more on the historical controversy on the Islamization of Java, cf Mark R Woodward, *Islam in Java Normative Piety and Mysticism in the Sultanate of Yogyakarta* Tucson University of Arizona Press, 1989, pp 53-60 For more on the tensions between Javanese mysticism and orthodox Islamic practice, cf pp 60-66

^{cdlix}*Pelita* 30 Agustus 1980, *Berita Buana* 23 Juli 1980

^{cdlix}*Berita Buana*, 23 Juli 1980

^{cdlix}For more on the context of these racial and religious tensions, cf Lombard, Denys, and Claudine Salmon, “Islam and Chuneseness,” *Indonesia*, vol 57 (April 1993), pp 115-131 On Islam and Chunesess the 1971 ban on Slamet Muljana’s Work contending the role of the Chinese in the islamization of Java (*Runtuknya Keradjaan Hindu-Djawa dan Timbulnya Negara negara Islam di Nusantara* [The Fall of the Hindu-Javanese Kingdoms and the Rise of Islamic States in the Archipelago], Jakarta Bhratara, 1968) The prohibition is detailed in Lombard and Salmon p 116]

^{cdlixi}Original emphasis “Producer Dan Sutradara Wali Sanga Jangan Salah Tafsir Reaksi Ummat,” [“The Producer and Director of Wali Sanga Must Not Misinterpret the Reaction of the Umma”] *Terbit*, August 25, 1980 [Sinematek Archives, Jakarta, Indonesia] The citation continues “*Dalam dakwahnya kedaratan negeri Cina Sunan Gunung Jati berhasil meyakinkan putri kerajaan yang kemudian masuk Agama Islam dan diboyong ke Cirebon jadi isteri Sunan Gunung Jati sampai meninggalnya [] Jadi jelas Sunan Gunung Jati bukanlah orang Cina*”

^{cdlixiv}My translation

^{cdlixiv}cf Max Lane, “Pramoedya, Racialism, and Socialism,” in Pramoedya Ananta Toer, *The Chinese in Indonesia An English Translation of Hoakiau di Indonesia* (First Published in 1960), translated by 2007)

^{cdlixv}My translation “The comportment of Mas Agung, who has allegedly already embraced Islam, contradicts the very teachings of Islam that these saint fought for when they were spreading Islam not only through the island of Java, but throughout the archipelago ” “Producer Dan Sutradara Wali Sanga Jangan Salah Tafsir Reaksi Ummat,” [“The Producer and Director of Wali Sanga Must Not Misinterpret the Reaction of the Umma”] *Terbit*, August 25, 1980 [Sinematek Archives, Jakarta, Indonesia] A second source cites Hamka’s reaction “Sementara itu Buya Hamka yang dimintakan komentarnya tentang ulah Syuman mengatakan “Saya jadi ketawa, kok seperti main jelangkung saja ” [I found myself laughing, why, it’s as though they were playing with strawmen at a seance] (“H M Satiri Achmad Cara Syumandjaya Tidak Agamus Mengyinggung Perasaan Ummat” *Terbit* 28 Juli 1980 [Sinematek Archives])

^{cdlixvi}For more on the controversy over Hamka’s publications on the regional history of Islam, see (for example), the commentary given by Abdulrahman Wahid (Gus Dur) charging that Hamka’s historical work was insufficiently rigorous His contribution is found in *Hamka, di mata hati ummat* Eds Nasir Tamara et al Jakarta Penerbit Sinar Harapan, 1983

^{cdlixvii}Sen, Krishna *Indonesian Cinema Framing the New Order* London Zed Books, 1994 79-80

^{cdlixviii}For more on the censor prescribing film content in the New Order, cf Sen 1994 p 80-81

^{cdlixix}Sen 1994 83

^{cdlixix}Cf “Sjuman Kephaitan masa kecil terbawa dalam karya-karyanya,” *Suara Karya Minggu*, August 14, 1977

^{cdlixxi}Cf “Haramnya Sumandjaya,” *Pelita*, November 20, 1976

^{cdlixxii}Cf “Syuman (Yang Kurang) Djaya Dengan ‘Atheis’ Nya,” *Berita Yudha* May 4, 1974 The author of this article opens the piece by drawing attention to Sjuman’s training in the Soviet Union, and on the pending prohibition of his film *Atheis* from the Department of Information (Departemen Penerangan) on the basis that the screenplay contained elements that were “unjustified” and “socially contaminating” [“tak dibenarkan” dan “bias meracuni masyarakat”]

^{cdlixxiii}“Haramnya Sumandjaya,” *Pelita*, November 20, 1976 These statements were given in defense of the accusation that his films were “socialist-realist” on the occasion of his appointment as the Director of the Film Division of the Information Ministry [Deppen]

^{cdlixxiv}Bordwell 16 Bordwell, David, “The Idea of Montage in Soviet Art and Film,” *Cinema Journal*, Vol 11, No 2 (Spring 1972), pp 9-17

^{cdlixxv}Bordwell 9

^{cdlixxvi}“Sjuman Kephaitan masa kecil terbawa dalam karya-karyanya,” *Suara Karya Minggu* 14 Agustus 1977

^{cdlixxvii}Fn for more on the structure of the film industry during the new Order, cf Sen 1994, chapter 3

^{cdlxxxviii} “Di Tangan Borjuis Kelontong, Film Hanya Barang Dagangan” [“In the hands of the Peddler-Bourgeois, Film is merely an object for sale”] (Oleh Drs Syumandjaya), *Analisa* (Medan), Juli 24, 1977

^{cdlxxxix} My translation

^{cdlxxxix} Sjuman’s opinions on Hollywood are documented in the following article “Di Tangan Borjuis Kelontong, Film Hanya Barang Dagangan,” [“In the hands of the Peddler-Bourgeois, Film is merely an object to trade”] *Analisa* (Medan) 24 Juli 1977) Although his films formally evince a Hollywood influence, Sjuman considered the Hollywood film industry, along with those of France and Italy, fundamentally “broken” [“hancur”], salvaged only by a few luminaries like Pasolini For Pramodya on Hollywood Cf Pramodya 2003 p 38, 73-4, 147

^{cdlxxxix} Dangdut is a form of Indonesian music most popular among Indonesia’s the working class

^{cdlxxxix} I am indebted to Pak Berthy of the Sinematek (who was a choreographer and member of Sjuman’s production team on the film) for bringing this to my attention (during a personal interview in February 2010)

^{cdlxxxix} Bordwell p 9

^{cdlxxxix} Eisenstein, Sergei, “The Cinematographic Principle and The Ideogram,” [initially published in Moscow, 1929] in *Film Form Essays in Film Theory* Orlando, FL Harcourt, 1949, pp 28-44 [on montage] Eisenstein here discusses his theory of montage as visual conflict, as the building of shots, through a meditation on Japanese masks and ideograms

^{cdlxxxix} (Sen 1994 83)

^{cdlxxxix} Fn For more on Pramodya’s feminist critique of feudal Javanese practices of concubinage (and on the figure of the *selir*), cf Tineke Hellwig, *In the Shadow of Change Images of Women in Indonesian Literature* Berkeley, CA University of California Berkeley Center for Southeast Asia Studies Monograph no 35, 1994, pp 81-95 For the connection with the figure of Kartini (as a critic of polygamous marriage), see pp 93-4 For more on Kartini as a character in Pramodya’s *Buru Quartet*, cf Hitchcock 2010 166 and 180

^{cdlxxxix} Insert footnote, articles on the prohibition of Pramodya’s Kartini biography, when it was prohibited/destroyed, when it came to be published again and returned to circulation

^{cdlxxxix} Sen 1994 8-9

^{cdlxxxix} Cf John Pemberton, *On the Subject of Java*, Ithaca Cornell University Press, 1994 Pemberton’s observation on the neo-kramanization of Indonesian in the New Order (p 14) parallels Matheson Hooker’s conclusions For on an introduction to the New Order’s (post 1965) dignification of Javanese tradition and ritual, see p 11

^{cdlxxxix} Florida, Nancy K., *Writing the Past Inscribing the Future History as Prophecy in Colonial Java* Durham Duke University Press, 1995 Florida writes that the *adiluhung* during the New Order became “the code word for what many modern Javanese appreciate as the super-refined (halus) sublime heights and profound depths of Javanese culture” (p 32)

^{cdlxxxix} Florida 33 For more on the neo sacralization of Javanese in the New Order, cf Florida, pp 33 34

^{cdlxxxix} Florida 32

^{cdlxxxix} For more on the destruction of his work on Kartini, cf Pramodya Ananta Toer, “My Apologies in the Name of Experience,” Translated by Alex G Bardsley, *Indonesia* vol 61, April 1996, pp 1-14

^{cdlxxxix} Rutherford 25 Rutherford, Danilyn “Unpacking a National Heroine Two Kartinis and Their People,” *Indonesia*, Vol 55, (Apr, 1993), pp 23-40

^{cdlxxxix} Rutherford 28

^{cdlxxxix} Shiraishi and Rutherford (p 38-40) suggest however that when it comes to the historical accuracy of this conclusion, it is not the entire truth that Kartini could cross class boundaries with such ease

^{cdlxxxix} Rutherford p 28

^{cdlxxxix} Fn Regarding the question of the historical Kartini’s views on polygamy (and on the polygamous marriage of Kartini’s father), Soeroto offers a couple of notable details (a) Pointing to letters/speculation from Cora Vreede-de Stuers, Soeroto assumes that Kartini’s peasant mother was publicly acknowledged (as the first wife of Kartini’s father, in a legal marriage that was nonetheless not official or ceremonial Cora Vreede de Stuers also mentions that [ck] Kartini apparently did not mention whether there was conflict between her mothers in her letters to her European associates (Soeroto’s *Kartini Sebuah biografi* (Gunung Agung 1977), p 24-8, though Kartini’s critique of polygamy and conviction of the superiority of monogamous marriages features in the biography (Soeroto’s *Kartini Sebuah biografi* (Gunung Agung 1977) pp 54-64 -from tr Joost cote P 132 25 April 1903 the claim “the public must never know what we are fighting against The name of the enemy against we are going into battle must never, never be heard polygamy If this were known, then there would be no one who would give us their child to be educated This disturbs me greatly, it seems to me as if we are taking up our task with a lie Our wish was that people would get to know us as we are, and then from conviction, give us their children”

^{cdlxxxix} Pramodya Ananta Toer, *Panggil Aku Kartini Saja (Bagian I & II)* [Just Call me Kartini (Volumes I and II)], Jakarta Lentera Dipantara, 2007 [3rd Edition] [First Published 1962, republished 1997] p 52

^d My translation

^d Pram, *Panggil Aku Kartini saja*, Pram p 51-60

^d (p 53, Pram, *Panggil Aku Kartini Saja* [Just Call me Kartini])

^d My translation

^d For more on the ceremonial stratification of Kartini’s household as discussed by Pram, cf *Panggil Aku Kartini saja*, p 90

^d Cf Rutherford

^d The status of Kartini’s birth-mother is a matter of controversy According to Soeroto, Kartini’s birth-mother had official status as the legal wife of Kartini’s father Pramodya is less ready to draw such conclusions

^d It should perhaps be mentioned that elsewhere in the film, the dialogue moves between the self-conscious use of Javanese and the unself-conscious use of Indonesian (nationalized Malay)—where Javanese is selectively employed to emphasize the ritualized hierarchy of class divisions within the family For more on the *kramanization* of public speech in Indonesia during the New Order, Cf Virginia Matheson Hooker, “New Order language in context,” in *Culture and Society in New Order Indonesia* Kuala Lumpur Oxford University press, 1993, pp 285-9 Hooker observes the *kramanization* of presidential public speech during the New Order, as opposed to the *ngoko* (lower level Javanese used to popular effect) by Sukarno during the Old Order

^d It is a letter to an associate (Stella) whose correspondence was not (according to Rutherford) included in Indonesian translations of Kartini’s letters, raising the question of how Sjuman’s attention was drawn to this particular excerpt, either from Pramodya, or from the original documents in Dutch)

^{dxv}Pramoedya Ananta Toer, *Panggil Aku Kartini Saja (Bagian I & II)* [*Just Call me Kartini (Volumes I and II)*], Jakarta: Lentera Dipantara, 2007 [3rd Edition] [First Published 1962, republished 1997]

(Cited and translated from the Dutch in Pramoedya's *Panggil Aku Kartini Saja* p 248), Surat 6 Nopember 1899, kepada Estelle Zeehandelaar. Pram continues (in his treatment of this), "Suatu pandangan keagamaan yang dangkal mungkin segera dapatmenuduhnya sebagai orang yang tidak atau kurang beriman. Yang jelas adalah bahwa pengetahuan, agama ditempatnya waktu itu sangat rendah dan dangkal, sebagaimana dinyatakan oleh Kartini sendiri [then the quote] " "Jadi Islam sampai kepada Kartini tinggal sebagai barang warisan yang karena tidak dikenalnya dengan baik disimpan saja dalam lemari. Dan daya sinkretik ini bekerja dengan kekuatan penuh semakin ia tidak mengenal agama Islam dengan semestinya " (Pram, panggil aku kartini saja p 248)

^{dxvi}Coté, Joost (tr) *On Feminism and Nationalism: Kartini's Letters to Stella Zeehandelaar, 1899-1903*. Clayton, Victoria: Monash University Press, 1995 (Cf. fn 16.) The remainder of the original letter in Dutch, which Pram does not include beyond the aforementioned segment, reads "People are taught here to read from the Koran but what is read is not understood. I think it is ridiculous to teach someone to read without understanding what is read. It is as though you taught me to read an English book which I had learnt completely by heart without you explaining a single word to me. If I were to know and comprehend my religious teachings then I would have to go to Arabia to learn the language there. But even without being religious you can still be a good person, can't you Stella?" (fn 16, Joost Cote [translation from Dutch of the segment])

^{dxvii}Soeroto, Sitoesamandari, *Kartini: Sebuah biografi*. Jakarta: Gunung Agung, 1977

Soeroto pp. 82 (fn 24, 27), 124, (fn 66), and 185 (fn 48)

^{dxviii}Soeroto does however mention Kartini's education in the Qur'an (pp. 34-35), given twice a week by a 'Santri lady' (p. 25), and Kartini's evident dislike of reading the Qur'an. In sum: "Maka anak-anak berpendapat apa gunanya mengikuti lidi gurunya dan menirukan suaranya, apa saja yang dikatakan? Apakah arti kata-kata Arab itu? Mereka tidak mengerti bhs Arab. Maka mereka mengajukan pertanyaan-pertanyaan. Tetapi pertanyaan2 mrk membuat Bu Guru marah." (Soeroto p. 35)

^{dxix}Chairil Anwar, "Four miscellaneous aphorisms," in *The Voice of the Night: Complete Poetry and Prose of Chairil Anwar*. [Revised Edition] Translated by Burton Raffel, Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Center for International Studies, Southeast Asia Series Number 89, 1993, p. 178

^{dx}Cited in Jahan Ramazani, *A Transnational Poetics*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009 p. 3. Ramazani on this point cites: Nussbaum, *Cultivating Humanity* 1997 (pp. 85-112), Walkowitz, *Cosmopolitan Style* (Columbia UP 2006); and Brennan's *At Home in the world*. Jahan Ramazani, *A Transnational Poetics*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009 p. 182.

^{dxvi}Spivak, *Death of a Discipline*, p. 9, cited in Ramazani 2009: p. 19.

^{dxvii}Michael Eskin, "Bakhtin on Poetry," in *Poetics Today* 21.2 (2000), 280.

^{dxviii}Hirshkop cited in Eskin 383. As Eskin acknowledges, "Bakhtin himself admits, novels can be monologic (1994a [1929/1963]: 262-63, 303, 395, 405-6), while poems can be just as 'novelistic,' that is, polyphonic or dialogic."

^{dxix}Hirshkop cited in Eskin p. 382-3.

^{dx}Eskin 382-3. Eskin's subsequent conclusion is that "[t]he tendency of poetry to create and enact authoritatively mastered and presumably homogeneous utterances may play into the hands of 'cultural, national, and political centralization' (Bakhtin 1975: 86), which is accomplished through the 'unifying, centralizing, [and] centripetal forces' (ibid.) of the official discourses of state and power; however, poetry also facilitates the creation and advancement of that communal language without which 'the decentralizing, centrifugal forces' (ibid.) of sociopolitical critique—which, as Bakhtin's own writings demonstrate, presupposes mutual understanding based on a communal language—would be impossible."

^{dxxi}Eskin 384. Eskin clarifies that Bakhtin develops these arguments in the context of his response to "symbolism, futurism, dadaism, surrealism, and further 'analogous movements'" which, he claims, "obliterates the dialogic potential of language." Bakhtin argues that, "rather than creatively engaging dialogue in its existentially infinite varieties as the principle of poetic construction, all of these movements, in one way or another, advocate the hierarchically marked separation and isolation of a variously conceived poetic language from its everyday diversity and existential contexts."

^{dxvii}Siegel 8.

^{dxviii}Siegel 7.

^{dxix}Siegel 26.

^{dx}For more on this oath in the context of cultural nationalism in the 1920s and 1930s, see Foulcher 1980 (especially p. 3).

^{dxvi}This is a trope that I am borrowing from Goenawad Muhammad's essay, which focuses more exclusively on the Indonesian poet Asrul Sani. The citation is taken from: Goenawan Muhammad, "Forgetting: Poetry and the Nation: A Motif in Indonesian Literary Modernism after 1945," in *Clearing a Space*, ed. Tony Day and Keith Foulcher, *Postcolonial Readings of Modern Indonesian Literature*. Leiden: KITLV Press, 2002, p. 208.

^{dxvii}For more on the rules of the *pantun* rhyme scheme (*abab*, a 4-line verse divided into two parts: the *pembayang* (preparatory lines) and the *maksud* (meaning), cf. Muhammad Haji Salleh, *Tradition and Change in Contemporary Malay-Indonesian Poetry*. Kuala Lumpur: Penerbit Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 1974, p. 84. Salleh describes the prevalent mood of the "traditional" *pantun* as one of refinement (*halusness*), calm and restraint (p. 86).

^{dxviii}Chairil Anwar, "Nisan," in *The Voice of the Night. Complete Poetry and Prose of Chairil Anwar*. [Revised

Edition] Translated by Burton Raffel, Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Center for International Studies, Southeast Asia Series Number 89, 1993, p. 3.

^{dxviii} In this, I am borrowing from Ramazani's more general observation that elegies often "embed within themselves the histories of their own literary genesis" (Ramazani 2009: 85).

^{dxix} Brunel's accompanying notes to "In Memoriam" clarifies: *Toussaint* (or the Catholic All Saint's Day) and the day following are celebrated by Senegalese Christians by gravesite visits. (Léopold Sédar Senghor, *Léopold Sédar Senghor: Poésie complète*, Ed. Pierre Brunel. Paris: Planète Libre, 2001, p. 52).

^{dxix} The rhyme scheme does not hold in English translation of these terms: "faces of stone," "my tower of glass."

^{dxxi} Léopold Sédar Senghor, "In Memoriam" *Léopold Sédar Senghor: Poésie complète*, Ed. Pierre Brunel. Paris: Planète Libre, 2001, p. 11.

^{dxxi} Senghor "In Memoriam," Translated by Melvin Dixon 1991.

^{dxiii} For more on the making of Chairil's reputation as the first Malay language poet to master free verse, for its staccatoism and fragmentation against the "regularity" and "musical balance" of traditional forms, cf. Salleh p. 143-4, and H.B. Jassin's *Chairil Anwar Pelopor Angkatan 45*, Jakarta: Gunung Agung 1959, p. 41, and Hendrik M.J. Maier, "Chairil Anwar's Heritage: The Fear of Stultification: Another Side of Modern Indonesian Literature," *Indonesia*, vol. 43 (April 1987), p. 2.

^{dxiv} The most canonical recognition of this might be seen with his edition of the collection of African Francophone poetry (prefaced by Jean-Paul Sartre) *La poésie nègre et malgache* in 1949—historically coinciding with the posthumous canonization of Anwar within Indonesia (whose passing in 1949 was followed by widespread acknowledgement of his innovations in Malay-Indonesian poetry, beginning with the Indonesian literary critic H.B. Jassin's 1951 essay on his legacy).

^{dxv} T.S. Eliot (*Selected Essays 1917-1932*) cited in Ramazani 2009: 4.

^{dxvi} Susan Stanford Friedman, "Definitional Excursions: The Meanings of Modern/Modernity/Modernism," in *Modernism/modernity*, Volume 8, September 2001, pp. 502, 501.

^{dxvii} Friedman 2001: 500.

^{dxviii} For Friedman's delineation of the nominal origins of the term, see Friedman 2001, p.500: "social theorists, political scientists, sociologists, and anthropologists tend to follow the lead of historians of Europe, who typically periodize their field into the subfields of classical, medieval, early modern, and modern, thus defining *modern* as the initial break with medieval institutions and outlooks that evolved over time. Within this context, *modernity* signifies a specific set of historical conditions developing in the West, including the industrial revolution, conquest of and expansion economically and politically into other continents, the transition to urban culture, the rise of the nation state, and growing power of the bourgeoisie." Friedman gives as an example of this common slippage David Harvey's characterization of the modern in *The Condition of Postmodernity*: "Firmly entrenched in the conventional literary meanings of *modernism* as disruption," he nonetheless equally associates "modernism, particularly what he calls High Modernism, with 'the Enlightenment project of the development of rational forms of social organization and rational modes of thought'" (p. 502).

^{dxix} Friedman 2001: 503.

^{dxl} For more on this complementarity between traditional spiritualism and European "rationalism," cf. for example, Léopold Sédar Senghor, "L'Apport de la Poésie Nègre au demi-siècle," *Liberté I: Négritude et Humanisme*, Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1964, especially p. 141. [Original publication date: 1952]

^{dxli} Chairil himself was deeply dismissive of early poetic experiments of the 1930s (particularly those associated with the journal *Pujangga Baru*), "all making a great deal of noise about 'modernization'" without "achiev[ing] real weight" in their endeavors (Anwar, "Hoppla!" in *The Voice of the Night*, p. 168, 169, originally published in 1945). The exception to this, in Chairil's estimation, lies with the poet Amir Hamzah, whose "clean, pure manner produces poems that, in addition to liberating the poet, also introduce a new style into Indonesian sentences, compactly violent, sharp and yet short" (Anwar, p. 168, 169, 168, emphasis added). It is through these general descriptions and in his characterization of literary progress as an absolute existential freedom in the wake European fascism and the Japanese occupation of East Asia that one may discern the sense that Chairil gives to the "modern."

^{dxlii} Roger Allen, *An Introduction to Arabic Literature*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000, p.127. For an introduction to the historical development of Arabic poetry through late nineteenth and early twentieth century experiments with neoclassicism, the prose-poetry of *émigré* (*mahjar*) communities in North and South America, and finally through free verse forms in the 1940s, see pp. 122-132.

^{dxliii} Cf. Madelon Djajadiningrat-Nieuwenhuis, "Noto Soeroto: His Ideas and the Late Colonial Intellectual Climate," *Indonesia*, vol. 55 (April 1993), pp. 41-72. Djajadiningrat-Nieuwenhuis traces Noeroto's expatriation to Holland (between 1908-1931 (p. 51), as a product of a Dutch policy of "Association" p.46. His involvement with the

Organization of expatriate Indies Students in Holland during the 1920s and 1930s, is also observed (p.52), as is his rift with compatriots after 1918 (p. 56), when he was marginalized by a more radical, anti-colonial, nationalist movement. Though seen by the Dutch to counterpoise the radical spirit arising among other Indonesian nationalist counterparts (p. 60), his alienation and displacement as an expatriate in Holland, and as a cultural or linguistic foreigner in the Indies is also evident in his writings p. 57, p. 65, p. 67. Mention should perhaps be made of the marginalization in Indonesia of Dutch language novelists, including the Indonesian novelist Suwarsih Djojopuspito, who published a Dutch novel (*Buiten het gareel*) in Holland in 1940, but was “overlooked in Indonesia because it was written in Dutch” (Foulcher 1993: 225). For more on the question of language choice facing Suwarsih, on the rejection of her Sundanese novel by *Balai Pustaka*, and the extremely belated translation of her Dutch novel into Indonesian (not reaching a national public until 1975) cf. Budianta, Melani, “Indonesian Literature and Nation-Building,” in *Language, Nation and Development in Southeast Asia*, Eds. Lee Hock Guan and Leo Suryadinata, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2007, pp. 61-3.

^{dxliv} On the subject of alternative assertions of Indonesian, poetic modernism in the 1920s and 1930s, Foulcher contrasts Rustam Effendi’s sense of the modern with that of Muhammad Yamin (in Yamin’s attempt to combine Dutch 1880s influence with more indigenous, traditional verse forms, where Effendi sought a more dramatic break from indigenous forms) (Foulcher 1977: 45-6). Foulcher sees Yamin’s *synthetic* rather than Effendi’s more radical approach to the poetic “modern” as more ascendant in the 1920 and the 1930s, as resumed in the poetic work of the Pudjangga Baru movement (Foulcher 1977: 52-3). For more on these early experiments with the *pantun* and sonnet forms, cf. Foulcher 1980: p. 34-43. Claudine Salmon presents an even earlier and less well known assertion of this synthesis, within the writing of *syair* by the Chinese Indonesian poet Tan Teng Kie in the late 19th century on the occasion of the building of the Batavian rail system. Cf. Claudine Salmon, “The Batavian Eastern Railway Co. and the Making of a New “Daerah” as Reflected in a Commemorative Syair Written by Tan Teng Kie (1890)” *Indonesia*, vol. 45 (April 1988), pp. 49-62.

^{dxlv} By this, I refer primarily to critics among the founders of the vernacular language journal, *Kaddu*. Additional mention should perhaps be made of the transformative political (and linguistic) changes that accompanied the Japanese interregnum of Indonesia during the Second World War (1942-1945), a period during which the use of Dutch was prohibited by the Japanese. This further contrasts with the continual use of French as an official, administrative language between pre- and post-independence Senegal.

^{dxlvi} Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana cited in Goenawan Mohammad, “Forgetting: Poetry and the nation, a motif in Indonesian literary modernism after 1945,” in *Clearing a Space*, ed. Tony Day and Keith Foulcher, *Postcolonial Readings of Modern Indonesian Literature*. Leiden: KITLV Press, 2002, p. 187. For more on the colonial context and importance of the journal *Poedjangga Baru* for the development of Indonesian cultural nationalism, cf. Foulcher 1980.

^{dxlvii} Siegel 26.

^{dxlviii} Siegel 26-9.

^{dxlix} Siegel 28.

^{dl} Partha Chatterjee’s exact phrase is: “to fashion a ‘modern’ national culture that is nevertheless not Western” (Cf. Partha Chatterjee, *Nation and its fragments : Colonial and postcolonial histories*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993, p.6.) On “bicéphalisme,” cf. Léopold Sédar Senghor, “Le Probleme Culturel en A.O.F.” *Liberté I: Négritude et Humanisme*, Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1964, p. 11. [Original publication date: 1937]. On Sanusi Pane’s articulation of a “Faust-Arjuna,” cf. Foulcher 1980: 22-23.

^{dlh} For more on the influence of Javanese verse forms (the *kakawin*, *parikan*, *wangsalan*, *tembang* and *asmaradana*) on later poets such as Rendra, cf. Salleh p. 109-114. For more on the influence of Sundanese Malay verse forms (*Kinanti* and *Sesebred*, and their traditional musical accompaniment) on, for example, the poetry of K.H. Ramadan, cf. Salleh, p. 128. Aveling also makes note of Sitor Situmorang’s return to experimenting with more traditional forms in the 1950s as the first chairman of the Lembaga Kebudayaan Nasional (or the Cultural League of the Nationalist Party), and views Rendra’s experiments (from 1952-1957) as equally inspired by Javanese verse forms and folk poetry. Cf. Harry Aveling *A Thematic History of Indonesian Poetry: 1920-1974*, Special Report No. 9: Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Northern Illinois University, 1974, p. 57-8. For more on these hostile reactions to Chairil in the 1950s, cf. Rustandi Kartakusumah (1957) and Ramadhan K.H. and Rendra cited in Goenawan Mohammad’s “Forgetting: Poetry and the nation, a motif in Indonesian literary modernism after 1945,” in *Clearing a Space*, ed. Tony Day and Keith Foulcher, *Postcolonial Readings of Modern Indonesian Literature*. Leiden: KITLV Press, 2002, p. 204.

^{dlu} For more on the posthumous canonization of Chairil’s poetry, Cf. Maier 1987: 2, Foulcher 1986: 22-3, and Foulcher 2001: 777. Foulcher and Maier trace the involvement of the Indonesian literary critic H.B. Jassin with

Chairil's canonization as leader of the "1945 generation" (based on a commemorative essay written by Jassin in 1951, later followed by the Dutch critic Andreas Teeuw).

^{dliv}George Quinn, *The Novel in Javanese: Aspects of its social and literary character*, Leiden: KITLV, 1992, p. 261. For more on the perceived decline of Javanese verse forms, cf. Quinn p. 257-9. Offering certain parallels to what Hadler has observed of philological trends in Sumatra after the *Padri* Wars, Florida notes that the colonial subjection of a self-consciously Islamic opposition during the Dipanegara War (1825-1830) corresponded to a "post-1830 philological romance," with efforts to marginalize Arabic-Islamic influences in Java, and to emphasize pre-Islamic Indic-Buddhist elements of Javanese culture (Nancy Florida, "Writing Traditions in Colonial Java: The Question of Islam," in S.C. Humphreys, ed. *Cultures of Scholarship*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997, pp. 190). To countervail what appeared to be "the subversive potential of Islam in Java," there emerged in Central Java "a policy that would define 'high Javanese culture' as the non-Islamic preserve of agreeable aristocrats," "a peculiar form of conceptual denial," "cultivated in the new academic field of Javanology" (Florida 1997: 188, 192, 194). (As Florida, however, observes, the continuity of Islamic literary forms in the presence of these changes can be observed within the Javanese court literature that developed throughout the nineteenth century, after the Dipanegara War.)

^{dliv}As Translated into Indonesian by H. Agus Hakim, this reads "*Apabila ada orang memujimu dengan kata-kata: Janganlah kamu riang-tertawa karena senang dipuji; karena puji itu bagi manusia adalah seperti racun, Mati olehnya orang-orang yang sombong karena tertipu.*" Cf. H. Agus Hakim, "Kulliyatul Muballighin: Muhammadiyah dan Buya Hamka," In *Kenang-Kenangan 70 Tahun Buya Hamka*. Edited by Solichin Salam et. al. [2nd Edition], Jakarta: Yayasan Nurul Islam, 1979, p. 57. This article also notes that Hamka frequently, at the end of his private letters to his associates overseas, versified poetry that would play on the names of his correspondents, including a member of the Indonesian embassy staff in Morocco, and an associate studying in Cairo (p. 57)

^{dlv}My translation.

^{dlvi}In the pages of *Pedoman Masjarakat* (the Medan Journal in which he published), ten poems were published in 1936: "Menoempang Bertoedoh," 31 Jan 1936 (p. 50), "Melati" (p. 69), "Tertoedoh" (p. 69), "Chajaaal" (p. 129), "Kenangan" (p. 171), "Aku Tak Berwang" (p.211), "Oelat Soetara" (p. 610), "Tadjam" (p. 630) "Ratap" (p. 670), "Dalam Pendjara" (p. 815). Four poems were published in 1937: "Sampai Hati" (p. 44), "Biarkan Dakoe kembali poelang" (p. 98), "Boeroengkoe" (p. 298), "Malam Sepi" (p. 578). Two poems were published in 1938: "Fathimah-Harjono" (p. 748), "Ratapnja seorang moeballigh kpd. Toean Hr. Bandaharo" (p. 853), and one poem was published in 1939: "Rahasia kemenangkankoe" (p. 43). These poems were often published under the Pseudonym "Aboe Zakij," a pseudonym mentioned among the contributors of *Kenang-Kenangan 70 Tahun Buya Hamka*. Edited by Solichin Salam et. Al. [2nd Edition], Jakarta: Yayasan Nurul Islam, 1979. The decline in his poetic output corresponded to the increased frequency of his prose works, published as *picisan roman* in the pages of *Pedoman Masjarakat*.

^{dlvii}George Quinn, *The Novel in Javanese: Aspects of its social and literary character*, Leiden: KITLV, 1992, p. 261.

^{dlviii}I am indebted to Kevin Fogg of the History Department at Yale University for bringing my attention to the existence of this devotional, Arabic poetry penned by the founders of *al-Khairaat* in Central Sulawesi and of *Nahdlatul Wathan* in Lombok. These poems form a devotional canon for religious organizations which, like the *muridiyya* in Senegal, have increasingly dominated electoral politics in their respective regions. For more on the poetry of the founder of *al-Khairaat* (in Central Sulawesi), Sayyid Idrus Al-Jufri, see Ahmad Bachmid's *Sang Bintang Dari Timur: Sayyid Idrus Al-Jufri Sosok Ulama dan Sastrawan*, Jakarta: Studia Press, 2008 [Second Edition]. This devotional verse has also notably (and in a pattern that resembles the devotees of *zāwiyas* in Senegal), been put to music (cf. *Album Gambus al-Khairaat: Shalawat dan Syair Guru Tua, Yang Mulia Al-Alimul Allamah Al Habib As Sayyed Idrus bin Salim Aldjufrie, Pendiri Alkhairaat*, Performed by Umar A. Djawwas, Mustafa Al-Haddar, Fahmi Balkher, Produced by: HS. Hasan Abdul Kadir Aljdufrie, Directed by: Umar A. Djawwas, Studio Recording Yassalam Arabic Entertainment, Sulawesi Tengah). For more on the poetry of the founder of *Nahdlatul Wathan* in Lombok, see Masnun, H., *Tuan Guru K.H. Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid: Gagasan dan Gerakan Pembaharuan Islam di Nusa Tenggara Barat*. Ed. Supriyanto Jakarta: Pustaka al-Miqdad, 2007. Writings in Arabic and devotional poems and versified prayer are found on pp. 265-409.

^{dlx}Friedman 2001: 504.

^{dlx}Friedman 2001: 503.

^{dlxi}The absolute and politicized 'pastness' of certain languages and scripts is also an ideological question of relevance, particularly given the previously observed, colonial and post-colonial politics of language development, consigning certain languages and scripts to an absolute and unbridgeable *past*, and its literature to "traditional," non-contemporary status (despite its sustainment in the present). As Florida observes, colonial, philological trends in the wake of the Java Wars (fought against an Islamic opposition in the early nineteenth century) tended to de-emphasize Islamic-Arabic elements in Javanese culture and to project "a philological romance of (pre-Islamic) golden ages and

(non-Islamic) renaissances”: “It was and is an image which sees in the neoclassical writings of ‘Traditional Javanese Literature’ a happy (if not successful) return to their own native greatness, that is, to their timeless (docile) selves away from the interruption of Islam’s sinister (political) messages. Internal to the logic of this image is the assurance that colonial order was ultimately responsible for the blessed return of Javanese writing to its ‘original truth.’ The image, which had special appeal for apologists of colonial authority, became in turn the intellectual property of emerging modern colonial subjects. In late-twentieth-century Indonesia it is still this image of ‘Traditional Javanese Literature’ that reigns supreme.” Nancy K. Florida, *Writing the Past, Inscribing the Future: History as Prophecy in Colonial Java*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1995, 30. For more on the process of tradition’s invention in the Javanese context, cf. Florida, pp. 10-40. Maier’s challenge to constructs of “tradition” as they pertain to Arabic-script Malay writing (*jawi*) might be seen to parallel Florida’s observation of the invention of “tradition” in Java.^{dlxi} Pointing to the problematic construction of “tradition” in Malay literary historiography, and to the slippage between the modern and traditional, the modern and provincial, Maier additionally mentions the politicization of script forms (the favoring of Latin script over Arabic script as a wedge between Malays and an Islamic religious script in colonial philology) as a factor in this construction. See Maier 2004: 31-32, 68-77. Maier’s reading of Muhammad Bakir’s *Hikayat Sempurna Jaya* (composed in 1886 in *jawi* (Arabic script Malay) and redacted into romanized Malay in 1981) for example destabilizes the “traditional” designation of the *jawi* manuscript tradition, while challenging the notion that transliteration of the *jawi* manuscript and publication into standardized, redacted form is enough to make of it a “modern work” (Cf. The third chapter of Hendrik Maier, *We are playing relatives: A Survey of Malay Writing*. Leiden: KITLV Press, 2004).

^{dlxii} Friedman 2001: 504.

^{dlxiii} Friedman 2001: 504, and Eskin 2000: 382.

^{dlxiv} Cf. Barbara Herrnstein-Smith, *On the Margins of Discourse: The Relation of Literature to Language*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1978. When Herrnstein-Smith suggests: “[p]oems are not natural utterances, not historically unique verbal acts or events; a poem is not an event at all,” I understand this to mean that the “fictive speech” of a poem is “historically indeterminate” (a-historical by virtue of its fictiveness) (Herrnstein-Smith p.24). This is, I believe, not to be confused with the reading of a poem as a (temporally bound) linguistic structure that might exemplify the dynamics of language use at the time a poem was penned.

^{dlxv} On the nationalization of Malay, Cf. Joseph Errington, “Going Un-Native in Indonesian,” in *Identifying with Freedom: Indonesia after Suharto*, edited by Tony Day. New York; Berghahn Books, 2007. pp. 49-53.

^{dlxvi} Herrnstein-Smith 1978: 21, 25.

^{dlxvii} Herrnstein-Smith 1978: 30 (emphasis added), 31.

^{dlxviii} Herrnstein-Smith 1978: 33.

^{dlxix} For more on the New Order’s developmentalist ideology and language ideology, see Ariel Heryanto and Nancy Lutz, “The Development of ‘Development,’” *Indonesia*, Vol. 46, (Oct., 1988), pp. 1-24 and J. Joseph Errington, “On the ideology of Indonesian language development: the state of a language of state,” *Pragmatics* (Vol. 2 No. 3) 1992, pp. 419-420. Heryanto notes that New Order rhetoric on “language development” was often confined to circles beyond academic linguists, where Indonesian linguists have instead focused on the problem of standardization.

^{dlxx} On the incompleteness of Sjunan’s biopic on Chairil, see Rendra’s preface to the screenplay (Sjunan Djaya, *Aku: Berdasarkan Perjalanan Hidup dan Karya Penyair Chairil Anwar*, Jakarta: Metafor Publishing, 2003 [2nd Edition]).

^{dlxxi} Despite its function as a commemorative publication on Chairil’s biography as a Malay-language poet, the biography notably asserts the regional *superiority* of a Javanese textual tradition in the archipelago (in keeping with New Order trends on the dignification of a traditional Javanese “*adiluhung*” (or sublime past). The introduction (on p. 3) cites Javanese literature as the “oldest and richest” in Indonesia: “*yang paling kaya dan paling tua di Indonesia*,” “*Pengaruhnya kelihatan pada kesusasteraan-kesusasteraan di Asia Tenggara pada umumnya*” (particularly with reference to *Panji* or epic adaptations). It might be noted this [gesturing to Javanese cultural superiority] is precisely what Hamka had been resisting in the late 1970s, by bringing attention to the contribution of Malay letters in Medan/Sumatra.

^{dlxxii} Sutjiatiningsih, Sri, *Tokoh Nasional Chairil Anwar*. Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Pusat Penelitian Sejarah dan Budaya, Proyek Inventarisasi & Dokumentasi Sejarah Nasional, 1979 [The Department of Education and Culture Center for the Research of History and Culture, Project for the Inventorization and Documentation of National History 1979].

^{dlxxiii} My translation.

^{dlxxiv} The original reads: “*menggambarkan Chairil Anwar sebagai Tokoh Nasional yang telah berjuang dalam bidangnya untuk kepentingan Negara dan bangsa*” (Sutjiatiningsih 1979: 2).

^{dlxxv} Sutjiatiningsih 1979: 33.

^{dlxxvi} Among the poems mentioned by name (in addition to the extensive glossary given in the document of Chairil's written work), pride of place is given to "Nisan," "1943," "Aku (semangat)," "Diponegoro," "Persetujuan dengan Bung Karno," and "Doa" (Sutjiatiningsih 1979: pp. 24-25, 34-35). Also mentioned as proof of Chairil's patriotism ("seorang yang cinta tanah air dan bangsanya") are: "Krawang-Bekasi," "Siap Sedia" "Cerita Buat Dien Tamaela" (Sutjiatiningsih 1979: p. 33).

^{dlxxvii} The pamphlet further describes its objective: "To construct the development of a national culture that aims to make evident changes that construct and elevate the ... based on the Pancasila, to build and strengthen the sense of self-confidence, national pride, and the character of the nation." (My translation) [The original reads: "*membina pembangunan nasional budaya yang bertujuan menimbulkan perubahan-perubahan yang membina serta meningkatkan mutu kehidupan yang bernilai tinggi berdasarkan Pancasila, dan membina serta memperkuat rasa harga diri, kebanggaan nasional dan kepribadian bangsa.*"] Sutjiatiningsih 1979, "Kata Pengantar" (unpaginated preface).

^{dlxxviii} Sutjiatiningsih 1979: 1.

^{dlxxix} Sutjiatiningsih 1979: 1.

^{dlxxx} "Ke-akuan" and "kebinatang jalangannya" may be more literally translated as "I-ness" and "wild bestiality"; these words directly reference certain lines of Chairil's poem "Aku." On the connotations of the term "Aku" as a form of self-designation in Indonesian, cf. Goenawan Muhammad, "Aku," in *Sidelines: Thought Pieces from Tempo Magazine [Catatan Pinggir]* Translated by Jennifer Lindsay. Jakarta: The Lontar Foundation Lontar, 1994, p. 12: "A Unique word in Indonesian is the word 'aku' for 'I.' Unlike 'saya,' the other common word for 'I,' 'aku' has a connotation of arrogance, even egocentrism. It is used in a negative way as in the derived forms 'keakuan,' meaning sense of ego, or 'mengaku-aku,' meaning to talk in a boastful way about oneself."

^{dlxxxi} Raffel's translation: "One day your hands will be stiff [...]/One day your heart will have stopped beating/One day your body will have turned to stone/But we'll quickly replace you/We'll go on carving this monument" (Chairil Anwar, *The Voice of the Night*, Translated by Burton Raffel p. 75).

^{dlxxxii} Chairil Anwar, *The Voice of the Night*, Translated by Burton Raffel, p. 75.

^{dlxxxiii} Chairil Anwar, *The Voice of the Night*, Translated by Burton Raffel p. 127. Burton Raffel translates the conclusion of this line as "now I'm on fire, now I'm flooding over" which (as my subsequent reading of the poem suggests) fails to give the implied meaning of the term "laut" [sea] as a *boundless realm* through which the self dissipates.

^{dlxxxiv} My translation, based partly on Raffel's translation. Raffel's translation adds to the second stanza: "the day this country set itself free," and replaces Chairil's more staccatic "now I am sea" with "now I'm flooding over." His translation of the third stanza loses the original sense of Chairil's terms in his translation of *zat* ("stuff") and *urat* ("guff").

"Friend Sukarno! You and me, we're cut from the same stuff, we've got the same guff,
Our ships sail in your stuff and in my stuff
Our ships sail in your guff and in my guff
Our ships pull up and drop anchor in your guff, and in my guff too" (Cf. Chairil Anwar, *The Voice of the Night*, translated by Burton Raffel, p. 127)

^{dlxxxv} On the concept of *Wahdat al-wudjūd* or "Wahdatal-*SHuhūd*," cf. Chittick, W.C. "Wahdatal-*SHuhūd* (a)." *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*. Edited by: P. Bearman; , Th. Bianquis; , C.E. Bosworth; , E. van Donzel; and W.P. Heinrichs. Brill, 2011. Brill Online. Yale University. 17 August 2011
http://www.brillonline.nl/subscriber/entry?entry=islam_SIM-7819.

^{dlxxxvi} This is Vladimir Braginsky's synopsis of the metaphor as used by Hamzah Fansuri in *al-Muntahi*. Braginsky clarifies that the metaphor is used to explain a known *hadith*, or prophetic saying, on the relationship between self-knowledge and knowledge of the divine, a saying that suggests that "he who knows himself has known God" ["*yang mentafsirkan hadis terkenal: 'Yang mengenal diri sendiri, telah mengenal Tuhannya pula.'*"] Braginsky traces Fansuri's influences from Classical Persian Sufi poetry, including Qadiriyyah based exegeses by Syaikh Abd al-Kadir Jilani, Ibn al-Arabi, and Abd al-Karim al-Jili. Braginsky's synopsis citation in Indonesian reads: Cf. Braginsky, Vladimir I. *Nada-Nada Islam dalam Sastra Melayu Klasik* [Islamic Tones in Classical Malay Literature]. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka Kementerian Pendidikan Malaysia, 1994. pp. 17-18).

^{dlxxxvii} My translation.

^{dlxxxviii} If pride of place is given to Chairil's "Doa" in the biography issued by the *Menteri Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan* [Ministry of Culture and Education], the honor was not extended to the more irreverent "*Dimesjid*" ("At the mosque") where the speaker hollers (and wrestles) God down from his heights, with a concluding line that reads: "*Binasa-membinasakan/Satu menista lain gila.*" ["Destroying each other/One hurling insults, the other gone"]

mad.”] Equally de-emphasized is “*Sorga*” (“Heaven”), the speaker doubts the superiority of heaven’s pleasures to the worldly temptations of earthly ports.

^{dlxxxix} Chairil Anwar, *The Voice of the Night*, Translated by Burton Raffel, p. 69. (Note: these cited lines are those that in Indonesian deviate [*i*] from the dominant internal rhyme scheme [established by the opening invocation, *Tuhanku*—a difference not evident in the English translation.

^{dx} Sermon later included in *Tafsir al-Azhar*, reprinted in *Gema Islam* no. 10, 15 June 1962, pp. 30-33. The quotation of Chairil Anwar’s “*Doa*” [“Prayer”] is found on p. 33.

^{dxci} My translation.

^{dxcii} For more on the concept of the “*Barzakh*,” cf. Carra de Vaux, B. “*Barzakh*.” *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*. Edited by: P. Bearman; , Th. Bianquis; C.E. Bosworth; , E. van Donzel; and W.P. Heinrichs. Brill, 2011. Brill Online. Yale University. 15 August 2011 <http://www.brillonline.nl/subscriber/entry?entry=islam_SIM-1249>. According to the Encyclopedia of Islam entry, “*Barzakh*,” is “a Persian and Arabic word meaning “obstacle” “hindrance” “separation.” The term “is found three times in the *Qur’ān* (xxiii, 102; xxv, 55 and lv, 20) and is interpreted sometimes in a moral and sometimes in a concrete sense. In verse 100 of *Sūra* xxiii the godless beg to be allowed to return to earth to accomplish the good they have left undone during their lives; but there is a *barzakh* in front of them barring the way. *Zamakhsharī* here explains the word by *hā’il*, an obstacle, and interprets it in a moral sense: a prohibition by God. Other commentators take the word more in a physical sense; the *barzakh* is a barrier between hell and paradise or else the grave which lies between this life and the next.” Carra de Vaux further clarifies that the term is sometimes rendered by Purgatory, on the analogy of the Christian idea of Purgatory, but this is inaccurate. It is used in the sense of ‘limbo.’”

^{dxciiii} Hamka, “*Tafsir al-Azhar*,” *Gema Islam* (no. 10), June 15 1962, p. 33.

^{dxciiv} My translation.

^{dxci} Cf. *Suara Jiwa: Antoloji Puisi peringatan 41 wafatnya Chairil Anwar* (1990) [*Voices of the soul: an anthology of poetry commemorating 41 years since the death of Chairil Anwar*]. These poems were written by students at the Insititut Keguruan dan Ilmu Pendidikan Muhammadiyah Purworejo, the Muhammadiyah Teacher Training Institute in Purworejo, Central Java, and are held in the archives of: KITLV Koninklijk Institut v. Taal-Land- en Volkenkunde [2889 1990] in Leiden, the Netherlands. For those popms that gesture to Chairil’s “*Doa*,” see “*Sesal*” (by Chamidatus Syukaro p.8); “*Bingkai Bingkai*” (Dasiman p. 10); “*Mutiara Abadi*,” (Edi Setiawan, p. 11); “*Kusamu menyapaku*” (Eko Deslan Suprapti, p. 18); “*Hasrat*” (Siti Mutmainah p.22); (7) “*Kapan*” (Sri Sumarni p. 23); “*Di Akhir Senja*” (Sri Sumarni p. 24); and a final one that recalls Chairil’s *Dimesjid*, with the metaphor of the divine burning within the breast, “*Kenyataan*” (Sugiyono, p. 20). Poems within an elegiac register, and among them, cautionary poems that appear to address the departed poet, include: “*Lelah*” (Eko Deslan Suprapti p. 19), “*Tujuh Menit Kau Kutatap*” (by Edi Gunarto p.9); “*Tragedi Busur Jumat Pahing*” (Edi Setiawan, p. 11); “*Sukma*” (T. Prismanoro, p. 13)—this perhaps appears to the poem most didactic to the poet; “*Menyelami hati dan jiwanya*” (Turhadi Prismanoro p. 15); (6) “*Di Luar Mimpi*” (Satijo p. 21)

^{dxci} On the dramatization of Chairil’s insouciance during the 1945 confrontation with the NICA (Netherlends Indies Civilian Administration) forces in Surabaya, cf. Sjuman Djaya, *Aku: Berdasarkan Perjalanan Hidup dan Karya Penyair Chairil Anwar*, Jakarta: Metafor Publishing, 2003 [2nd Edition], pp. 71, 76-73. For an exemplary incident involving Chairil’s nearly indifferent, then subsequently audacious, involvement with the makings of a revolutionary war poster with the artist Affandi, cf. Sjuman Djaya 2007: 61, 65-66, 88. (This historic poster is now housed in the museum Affandi in Jogjakarta.) For scenes featuring Chairil with nationalist figures and politicians (Syahrir, Adam Malik), cf. Sjuman Djaya 2003: 68, 70, 80, 98-99, 124.

^{dxci} For further context on the occupation-era Japanese cultural centre, the “*Keimin Bunka Shidosho*,” used to pressure “composers, playwrights, writers, and painters [to] legitimiz[e] Japanese imperial ambitions,” see Goenawan Muhammad, “*Forgetting: Poetry and the nation, a motif in Indonesian literary modernism after 1945*,” in *Clearing a Space*, ed. Tony Day and Keith Foulcher, *Postcolonial Readings of Modern Indonesian Literature*. Leiden: KITLV Press, 2002, p. 195.

^{dxci} Chairil Anwar, “*Aku*,” cited in Sjuman Djaya 2003: 3.

^{dxci} Chairil Anwar, “*Aku*,” in *The Voice of the Night*, translated by Burton Raffel, p. 19.

^{dc} Sjuman Djaya 2003: 4.

^{dc} My translation.

^{dc} Sjuman Djaya 2003: 4-5.

^{dc} My translation.

^{dc} Chairil Anwar, *The Voice of the Night*, Translated by Burton Raffel, p. 19. I have replaced Raffel’s translation of “*berlari/berlari*” with “*running/running*” (rather than “*attacking/attacking*”), as the ambiguity of “*berlari*” (as a

possible escape) seems more accurate to the spirit of Sjuman's metaphor.

^{dcv} Sjuman Djaya 2003: 150.

^{dcvi} My translation.

^{dcvii} Sjuman Djaya 2003: 22-23.

^{dcviii} Sjuman Djaya 2003: 22. For more on Chairil's interactions with the poets of *Pudjangga Baru* within the screenplay, cf. pp. 34-5.

^{dcix} Sjuman Djaya 2003: 43-44.

^{dcx} Sjuman Djaya 2003: 44.

^{dcxi} My translation.

^{dcxii} The Malukun origination story which catalyzes the poem, as embedded within the screenplay, is told by the character of Dien Tamaela, the Malukan artist to whom the poem is dedicated: "*Seolah Datu kamilah orang pertama yang menjaga pantai, menjaga pulau. Di pulau itu dia berbini dan beranak, menurunkan cucu-cucunya, sampai terlahir Tamaela. Tamaela ini kemudian berhasil membentuk diri menjadi sebuah keluarga besar. Aku salah seorang di antara mereka. Tapi Datu yang pertama dibesarkan orang dengan nama Rajawane.*" ["Our Datu [Chief, the title of a headman], was the first to guard the coast and guard the island. He took a wife, and sired children, and had descendants, until Tamaela was born. This Tamaela then successfully made of himself a large family. I am one of them. But the first *Datu* was raised with the name 'Rajawane.'" (Sjuman Djaya 2003: 38).

^{dcxiii} Sjuman Djaya 2003: 102.

^{dcxiv} Sjuman Djaya 2003: 104. The vitalism of the ritual is thus described: "*Gerakan tubuh-tubuh itu begitu energik, riuh rendah dan dinamis. Terasa ada kekuatan magis di dalamnya, alangkah dahsyat dan mempesona*" (p.103).

^{dcxv} Chairil Anwar, "Hoppla!," cited in H.B. Jassin, *Chairil Anwar: Pelopor Angkatan 45*. Jakarta: Gunung Agung, 1983 [6th Edition], pp. 144-145.

^{dcxvi} Chairil Anwar, "Hoppla!," translated by Burton Raffel, p. 169. [Original Publication: December 1945].

^{dcxvii} Eric Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," in *The Invention of Tradition*, Eds. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002, p. 7.

^{dcxviii} Eric Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," in *The Invention of Tradition*, Eds. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002, p. 4.

^{dcxix} Anderson, Benedict, *Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. New York: Verso, 1991, p.145.

^{dcxx} Chairil Anwar, "Hoppla!" translated by Burton Raffel, p. 168. A more literal translation might read: "A man can only write according to beliefs that already run with his own blood, not to a faith still hoped for." The original Indonesian reads: "Bagi seorang yang bisa menulis menurut kepercayaan yang sudah mendarah-nanah dalam dirinya, bukan menurut kepercayaan yang masih diharapkannya." Chairil Anwar, "Hoppla!," cited in H.B. Jassin, *Chairil Anwar: Pelopor Angkatan 45*. Jakarta: Gunung Agung, 1983 [6th Edition], p. 43.

^{dcxxi} Cf. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* [Revised Second Edition], London: Verso, 1991.

^{dcxxii} Yasir Suleiman has, in a different context, incisively made this point in his treatment of Arabic language poetry. Cf. Yasir Suleiman, "Nationalist Poetry, Conflict, and Meta-linguistic Discourse," in *Living Islamic History: Studies in Honour of Professor Carole Hillenbrand*, of (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), pp. 252-278.

^{dcxxiii} Anderson 1991: 134.

^{dcxxiv} Anderson 1991: 36.

^{dcxxv} In Anderson's words: "Beneath the *decline* of sacred communities, languages, lineages, a fundamental change was taking place in the modes of apprehending the world, which [...] made it possible to 'think' the nation" (Anderson 1991: 19).

^{dcxxvi} Cf. The concluding chapter of the revised edition of *Imagined Communities*, "Census, Map, Museum," (Anderson 1991: pp. 163-185).

^{dcxxvii} Michael Laffan, in the Indonesian case, has suggested this in slightly different terms (focusing in particular on Indies Arabic print culture in the nineteenth and early twentieth century): "Arabic script was an important signifier of alterity and nationhood not so readily erased by the modern newspaper. In the early 20th century the *Jawa* had recourse to two ecumenical languages –Arabic and Malay—each able to be written in the one sacred script making Anderson's view, for that time at least, a gross overstatement. [...] Arabic continues to retain sacred force for all Muslims as both revealed and enunciated speech, while Malay continues to unite members of the largest Muslim nation in the world" (Michael Laffan, *Islamic Nationhood and Colonial Indonesia: The Umma Below the Winds* (London: Routledge Curzon 2003), p. 144).

Ernst Gellner (though writing in 1983 before Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities*) indirectly considers the

exceptional decline of liturgical Latin (relative to devotional Arabic) in his hypothetical musings on the political outcomes for Europe had the industrial revolution (for Gellner the necessary precondition to the rise of nationalism) preceded the decline of ecumenical Latin: "In the classical North-West European case, one may say that the process had two stages: the Reformation universalized the clerisy and unified the vernacular and the liturgy, and the Enlightenment secularized the now universalized clerisy and the now nation-wide linguistic idiom, no longer bound to doctrine or class. It is interesting to reflect what would have happened in Western Europe had industrialization and all it involves begun during the High Middle Ages, before the development of vernacular literatures and the emergence of what was eventually destined to become the basis of the various national high-cultures. There would clearly have been the prospect of a clerkly-led Latin, or perhaps Romance, nationalism, as opposed to the relatively more local nationalisms which did eventually crystallize, secularizing no longer a trans-political clerkly high culture, but a half-clerkly, half courtly one. Had it all happened earlier, a pan-Romance nationalism would have been as plausible as the pan-Slavism which was taken seriously in the nineteenth century, or the pan-Arab nationalism of the twentieth, which were also based on a shared clerkly high culture, co-existing with enormous differences at the low or folk level." (cf. Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, (Second Edition. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008), pp. 76-77).

It is curious that specialists in Arabic sociolinguistics who reference Benedict Anderson (and *Imagined Communities*) in their work on the Middle East do not fault him for this oversight (Cf. For example, Mike Holt, "Divided Loyalties: Language and Ethnic Identity in the Arab World," in *Language and Identity in the Middle East and North Africa* edited by Yasir Suleiman (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 1996), pp. 15-17.)

dcxxviii Anderson 1991: 18, 18, 165, 7.

dcxxix Anderson 1991: 13, 16.

dcxxx Anderson 1991: 13. Benedict Anderson in *Language and Power* acknowledges the political importance of mediating *kijaji* (clerics) and their symbolic (linguistic) capital in Java; such observations, however, do not factor into his conclusions in *Imagined Communities* on the history of language use and nationalism in Indonesia. (Cf. Benedict Anderson, *Language and Power: exploring Political Cultures in Indonesia*, (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996) pp. 26-28, 63.

dcxxxi Chatterjee's critique of Anderson culminates with the following observation: "If nationalisms in the rest of the world have to choose their imagined community from certain 'modular' forms already made available to them by Europe and the Americas, what do they have left to imagine? History, it would seem, has decreed that we in the postcolonial world shall only be perpetual consumers of modernity. Europe and the Americas, the only true subjects of history, have thought out on our behalf not only the script of colonial enlightenment and exploitation, but also that of our anticolonial resistance and postcolonial misery. Even our imaginations must remain colonized." Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), p.5.

dcxxxii Chatterjee 1993: p. 5.

dcxxxiii Chatterjee 1993: p. 6.

dcxxxiv Chatterjee 1993: p. 11.

dcxxxv Chatterjee 1993: pp. 11, 6.

dcxxxvi Chatterjee 1993: p. 6.

dcxxxvii Chatterjee 1993: p. 7. Christopher Miller has coined the term "print colonialism" to suggest the pervasiveness of these interventions in literary markets in Senegal. (Cf. Christopher L. Miller, *Nationalists and Nomads: Essays on Francophone African Literature and Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), p. CLM Nationalists and Nomads 1998: p 119.)

dcxxxviii In this regard, it appears that the modes through which devotional Arabic continued to represent a spiritualist difference (and divestment from colonial politics) was not only a function of the effective reach of the colonial state, but depended also on the mediation of key (symbolic) leaders within these "internal" spiritual realms, for negotiating the threshold, limits, or circumscription of the spiritual domain as a linguistic or textual (print) arena. In Senegal, for example, one might consider Bamba's decision to refrain from overt dealings with the colonial state (and its print apparatus) a partial determinant of the strong division between the private devotional use of Arabic and Arabic script writing in Senegal's Sufi *zawiyas*, whereas Hamka in Indonesia, though initially coopted by the primary publishing house of romanized, Dutch print-colonialism, attempted to recapture the Indonesian public sphere for Arabic script writing in the post-independence context.

dcxxxix Anderson 1991: 45.

dcxli David Singh Grewal, *Network Power: The Social Dynamics of Globalization* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), p. 11. Anderson's omission, I would argue, can be thrown into light by David Singh Grewal's insights into

the difficulties of locating agency and conceptualizing power relations when these relations operate through social structures instead of through the express will of a well-defined agent or authority. Of particular relevance to Anderson's claim that print-language invents nationalism, Singh Grewal observes that market activity and linguistic evolution are paradigmatic instances in which an "aggregate outcome emerge[s] [...] through the accumulation of decentralized, individual decisions that, taken together, nonetheless conduce to a circumstance that affects the entire group" (Grewal 2008: p. 9). Given that the point of a standard is to gain social access to a larger community (beyond direct, personal interactions), and that "the more people who adopt a given standard, the more valuable it will be for others to adopt the same one," "the network power of a standard alone may be sufficient to drive it toward conventionality" (Grewal 2008: pp. 10, 11).

^{dcxli} Chatterjee 1993: p.11.